Archives & Local History in Bristol & Gloucestershire

Essays in Honour of David Smith

Edited by Joseph Bettey

The Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society

2007

Front cover illustration:
St John Chrysostom, archbishop of Constantinople (398–407) from a copy of his *Homilies on St Matthew's Gospel* given to Hailes Abbey in 1517 by Christopher Urswick (1448–1522), and now in Wells Cathedral Library

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Foreword

IT IS WITH great pleasure that I write this Foreword to this Bristol & Gloucestershire Archaeological Society Book. David Smith's involvement with the Society is well-recorded, an involvement spanning more than twenty-five years. In paying tribute to him I should like to record my family's gratitude to him for his work on the Muniments here at Berkeley Castle. The very large collection of documents, which go back to the 12th century, are unique, and they are a very important part of English history.

When David Smith became the County Archivist he took on the enormous task of not only re-cataloguing the records, but also conserving them. By microfilming many of them he made them more accessible to historians and students alike. His work is not yet completed, and when he retired as County Archivist he kindly agreed to continue this work as the Berkeley Castle Archivist.

It has always been a pleasure to me to be involved with him in this very important work he has carried out. His professionalism and his eye for detail have revealed in the Castle collection a number of very exciting manuscripts and documents, previously unknown. But my greatest pleasure has been to work with such a delightful and knowledgeable expert in such an important field of research and conservation. My gratitude to him knows no bounds.

R.J. Berkeley
Berkeley Castle
Gloucestershire

David J.H. Smith M.A., F.S.A wearing the badge of office as
President of the Bristol & Gloucestershire Archaeological Society 2006–7.

Profile of David J.H. Smith M.A., F.S.A

ELAINE HEASMAN

David Smith has been a professional archivist for forty years. After obtaining a degree in modern history at Oxford, he 'learnt his trade' at the Bodleian Library and worked briefly in Ipswich and Coventry before becoming deputy to the county archivist of Lancashire. He moved to Gloucestershire in 1980 to take up the appointment of county archivist at Gloucestershire Record Office [*now Gloucestershire Archives*], as successor to Brian Smith. In 1986 David took on the role of General Secretary of the Bristol & Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, a position he held until March 2006. He was also the Society's Record Series General Editor from 1988 to 1995. David retired in June 2000 as county archivist but still works part-time as Berkeley Castle Archivist.

David has also been an occasional extra-mural tutor for twenty-five years, lecturing for the Universities of Oxford and Bristol. For many years he conducted a highly-successful research group for the University of Bristol at the Gloucestershire Record Office. He is a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London and an Honorary Fellow of the University of Gloucestershire. David enjoys the Gloucestershire countryside with its rich flora and variety of landscape. He likes walking and seeing the wild flowers in season. One of his greatest pleasures is in words, whether written or read, spoken or sung. He is often to be found supporting local events and his company is much appreciated by those who know him.

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Notes on Contributors

ELAINE HEASMAN is Editor of the *Newsletter* of the Bristol & Gloucestershire Archaeological Society. She has published work on the history of Cheltenham, and edits the Cheltenham Local History Society *Newsletter*.

GERARD LEIGHTON is the third generation of his family to be a member of BGAS He has been Honorary Treasurer of the Society since 1970, and is a Past President of BGAS.

CHRISTOPHER ELRINGTON was General Editor of the Victoria History of the Counties of England. Since 1995 he has been General Editor of BGAS Record Series.

NICHOLAS HERBERT was editor of the *Victoria County History of Gloucestershire* from 1970 to 2003, and is a former editor of the BGAS *Transactions*. Since retirement he has continued to research, write and lecture on the history of Gloucestershire.

JOHN RHODES was curator of Gloucester City Museum from 1974 to 1994, and is a Past President of BGAS. His edition of the *Registers of the Priory of Llanthony by Gloucester* was published in the Society's Record Series in 2002.

BRIDGET WELLS-FURBY completed a Ph.D. thesis at St Andrews on 'The Berkeleys of Berkeley 1281–1417'. She was engaged at Gloucester Record Office in preparing a catalogue of the medieval muniments in Berkeley Castle, and this was published in 2 volumes by BGAS Record Series in 2004.

CHRISTOPHER DYER is Professor of Regional & Local History and Head of the Centre for English Local History at Leicester University. He is the author of numerous books and articles on medieval history, including many studies of Gloucestershire parishes. He is a Past President of BGAS.

DAVID WALKER has made a particular study of early medieval Bristol. His edition of *The Cartulary of St Augustine's Abbey, Bristol* was published by the Record Section of BGAS in 1998. He was formerly a Senior Lecturer in Medieval History at the University of Wales, Swansea.

JILL BARLOW is Assistant Archivist at Cheltenham College and occasional assistant to David Smith in the Berkeley Castle archives. Her edition of *Gloucestershire Apprenticeship Registers 1595–1700* was published by BGAS Record Series in 2001.

BRIAN SMITH was formerly County Archivist of Gloucestershire and has written extensively on the history of the county. He is a Past President of BGAS, and was editor of the *Transactions* 1972–80.

JOSEPH BETTEY was formerly Reader in Local History in the University of Bristol. He has written and edited numerous books and articles on west-country history and is a Past President of BGAS.

REG JACKSON is an independent archaeologist working in Bristol with a special interest in glass production and ceramics. His publications include studies of Bristol potteries, pottery production at Westbury-on-Trym, and of the archaeology of a glass-house at Cheese Lane, Bristol.

DAVID ALDRED is a writer and lecturer on local history in Gloucestershire. He has been a member of BGAS since 1970, and was Head of History at Cleeve School 1984–2003. He has published numerous books and articles on local history.

CAROLYN HEIGHWAY was Head of Gloucester Museum of Archaeology Unit. She is now an independent archaeologist and Archaeological Consultant to Gloucester Cathedral.

JOHN JURICA is Assistant Editor of the Victoria History of Gloucestershire. He has written and lectured extensively on Gloucestershire history, and has conducted courses for the University of Bristol. Since 1994 he has been Editor of BGAS *Transactions*.

JOHN LOOSLEY succeeded David Smith as Secretary of BGAS and is Chairman of Gloucestershire Local History Committee. Following a career in the engineering industry, he pursued an interest in local history and edits the annual publication *Gloucestershire History*.

MARTIN CROSSLEY EVANS is Warden of Manor Hall, University of Bristol and has written several studies of churches, personalities and life in Bristol during the 19th and 20th centuries, including *Hannah More* (1999). He has served as Chairman of the Council of BGAS.

NICHOLAS LEE was Special Collections Librarian at the University of Bristol, and has published accounts of some of the material held by the Library, including a description of the remarkable deposit of the papers of Isambard Kingdom Brunel.

I

Records and Archive Publications by the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society

H.G.M. LEIGHTON

AN INTEREST in archives and historical records has been a feature of the Society since its earliest years, much encouraged by Sir John Maclean, the first editor of the Transactions. Volume V (1880–81) contained transcriptions of State papers relating to the cloth trade 1622, and relating to Bishop Cheyney and recusants in the diocese of Gloucester, both edited by the Rev. R.H. Clutterbuck, to be followed by ancient charters relating to Woodchester in latin with translations to which J.E. Dorrington alluded in his presidential address in 1880. In his tenure of office until 1894 Maclean contributed some fifty papers reflecting in the main his interest in historical documents including chantry certificates, inventories of church goods and Feet of Fines. Canon Taylor, who succeeded him as editor later commented, "the present state of the Transactions cannot be considered satisfactory", for he felt extracts from Feet of Fines were more suitable for a Record Society and archaeological discoveries were not being recorded or assessed.

The Winchombe Abbey 'landboc' or cartulary possessed by Lord Sherborne had been transcribed and edited by the Rev. David Royce. Lord Sherborne asked the Society to consider publishing it but it was reluctant to enter into a substantial financial commitment and an attempt to establish a subscription list proved disappointing. Royce personally undertook publication but died before the second volume came out. The Society purchased the total unsold stock from his widow. The 'landboc' was a substantial scholarly achievement though the society's position was somewhat tangential. It established its reputation as a serious records publisher by bringing out in 1886 an abstract of wills contained in the Great Orphan Book and Book of Wills of the City of Bristol edited by the Rev. T.P. Wadley.

From 1883 to 1885 the manuscript lives of the Berkeleys and History of the Hundred of Berkeley by John Smyth, the steward of Berkeley Castle in the 17th Century was transcribed and published against a subscription list of members of the Society, but the venture left the Society with a loss which it could ill afford and more elaborate aspects of the publication were abandoned. Maclean also proposed that the cartulary of St. Augustine's Abbey, Bristol at Berkeley Castle be published by the society, but it was decided it could not afford to do so. It was ultimately published as Volume 10 of the Gloucestershire Records Series of the Society, described below, edited by Canon David Walker. Again Canon Bazeley and Francis Weare attempted to prepare an index to the heraldry in Bigland's History of Gloucestershire which came to nought but a full publication of Bigland with a comprehensive index has since been published in the Gloucestershire Record Series (volumes 2, 3, 5, and 8: 1989–1995).

A proposal that the society should co-operate with the British Record Society as some other societies were doing to publish early county records was rejected by the Council as it was thought undesirable to lose independence, but it was arranged that the British Record Society should supply for a modest annual fee 500 copies of six sheets of records which would be issued to members alongside the Transactions. The first was a calendar of Bristol Wills, 1572–1792, and with it The Great Orphan Book, 1378–1694 edited by E.A. Fry and a continuation of the work of Wadley. This was followed by a series of early Inquisitions Post Mortem which continued until 1914.

The Transactions continued to carry records material such as a Catalogue of manuscripts in the British Museum relating to the County of Gloucestershire and City of Bristol by F.A. Hyatt (vol. XX, 1895–97). Some Ancient Deeds relating to Walton Cardiff (now Tewkesbury) by Rev. E.R. Dowdswell (vol. XXXIII, 1909) or the Deeds of the Manor of Southam (vol. XXVIII, 1905) again by Dowdswell and supplemented by C. Roy Huddleston in Volume 50, (1928). More ambitiously a descriptive Catalogue of printed maps of Gloucestershire 1577–1911 edited by T. Chubb was issued in 1912 in place of part 2 of Transactions volume XXXV and in 1940 Rolls of Gloucestershire Sessions of Peace 1361–1298 edited by E.G. Kimball were published as Transactions volume 62.

Breaking new ground in a records publication which involved wide scholarship, field work and interpretation of extremely difficult documents was the Saxon Charters and Field Names of Gloucestershire prepared by G.B. Grundy, Fellow and Ancient History tutor at Corpus Christi College, Oxford. The Society published this in two parts, in 1935 and 1936. Grundy's stated object was the elucidation of the topography of Gloucestershire in Saxon Times. He became interested in such documents in the first instance for the light that they might throw on late Roman Britain. He was somewhat disappointed at their limitations in this respect although they identified the sites of some Roman villas ('caestel') and the substantial civilian use and improvement of early ridgeways and lines of through communication as illustrated, for example, by that along a ridge near Doverley, Wotton-under-Edge. He had discovered from work in other counties that up to two thirds of previous geographical identifications were incorrect and realised investigation on the ground was essential; a technique which he had employed in his work on the writings of Greek historians.

1981 saw the publication by the Society of a Gloucestershire and Bristol Atlas the main feature of which was reproduction in full of Isaac Taylor's map of Gloucestershire, first edition, 1777 organised by W.L. King, Irvine Gray and the Hon. W.R.S. Bathurst.

All these publications or Transactions papers were the result of individual initiatives and material offered to the society, but the receipt of a legacy of £5000 from Alfred Bruce Robinson in 1951 enabled the Society to pursue an organised series of record publications and a Records Section under the chairmanship of Wilfred Leighton was established for this purpose.

The very specific terms of the legacy were that it be used to print the Marriage Allegations, Surrogate Marriage Bonds in the diocesan registries of Bristol and Gloucester and to continue Phillimore's Series of Gloucestershire Marriages and to print other parish records appertaining to the County of Gloucester and the City and County of Bristol. Mr Robinson in retirement carried out considerable research on the records of the Gloucester probate registry and consistory court. Professor Patrick

McGrath became general editor and organised a series of volumes meeting the terms of the legacy. After a while the committee was pressurised to publish outside the terms of the legacy which had not at the time been fully expended. It was eventually agreed that the proceeds of the sales of volumes could be so used supported by subventions from the General Fund of the Society, but not the principal sum which was confined to the nominated purposes. This led to some interesting volumes such as Irvine Gray's Antiquaries of Bristol and Gloucestershire (vol. 12, 1981). Volume 13 (1985) was a set of 19th century farm accounts but the dispiriting of sales of this volume and the lack of further material that was suitable for publication led to the termination of the series.

The finances of the Society had been revolutionised by a substantial anonymous gift in 1954 of shares in John Dickinson & Co. Ltd later to become Dickinson Robinson Group, though it became generally known that the donor was Dr. (later Dame) Joan Evans who as editor of the Transactions had been frustrated by financial stringency. The dividends from the shares rapidly grew and the Society needs were more than fully met which led to grants being made to third parties including church restoration. It was pointed out that it was intended to finance publications as witnessed by correspondence with Dame Joan and the recollection of such as Miss Elizabeth Ralph who knew her well and was involved in negotiating the gift. This was encapsulated in a Statutory Declaration and the shares classified as a Publication Fund which gave the confidence to commence in 1988 the Gloucestershire Records Series. When county record societies were formed in the 19th century most concentrated originally on medieval episcopal and associated records but Gloucestershire until the Reformation was in the diocese of Worcester and relevant material was within the remit of the Worcestershire Historical Society, so it never had a records society of its own even though there was a need of editing a mass of non-ecclesiastical and indeed monastic material for which full and serious publication awaited to be undertaken.

The Society therefore established a new series concerned specifically with Gloucestershire, for a separate record society for Bristol had been established in 1929 with financial support from the Corporation and the University. It has published and continues to publish an impressive series of volumes and has always been closely associated with the Society whose members have been involved in its affairs. Thus the Gloucestershire Records Series came into being.

It was decided to seek an enhanced subscription from members who wished to receive volumes in the proposed series which would give an income flow instead of relying on casual sales as had been the case with the Robinson bequest volumes.

Peter Ripley was appointed general editor and fortunately there was already in existence a text almost ready for publication 'Transportees from Gloucestershire to Australia 1783–1842', edited by Irene Watt which formed Volume 1 published in 1988. Sadly Peter Ripley died in March 1988. David Smith stood in as acting general editor and saw the next six volumes through the press, and was then succeeded by Professor Christopher Elrington who had recently retired as general editor of the Victoria History of the Counties of England. He continues with infinite scholarship to mastermind the publication of the series; Volume 20 was published in 2006 and there is a programme in place to continue annual volumes for the foreseeable future.

Commencement of a new series with a subscription is not easy as volumes take several years from date of commissioning for the completion of editorial work. It was

therefore decided to fill this gap by publication of a facsimile reprint of a complete version of Bigland's Historical Monumental and Geological Collections relating to the county of Gloucester prepared between 1750 and 1784 but issued in sections from 1791 to 1899. With a time span of over a hundred years it is not surprising that very few complete copies exist. There was an amount of opposition within the Society to publishing a reprint. Miss Elizabeth Ralph in particular felt it was not essentially the task of a records series, but a definitive edition with an essential and extensive index was viewed as a valid publication. Bigland was a monumental task running to four volumes and edited by Brian Frith. Though it may be invidious to mention other specific publications, Professor Patterson's edition of the Acta of St. Peter's Abbey, Gloucester (now the Cathedral) 1122–1263 (volume II) included an analysis of the scribes' hands with illustration showing their development and the secretarial organisation that produced these documents. A catalogue of the Medieval Muniments at Berkeley Castle edited in two volumes (numbers 17 and 18) by Dr. Bridget Wells-Furby detailed one of the most remarkable accumulations in the country of medieval records relating to the ownership and administration of lands which extend right across England and include Scottish and Irish properties. This comprehensive publication makes available material that in practical terms was virtually unattainable. Lastly in 2004 an Historical Gazetteer of Cheltenham published as volume 9 was reissued in digital form on the internet as an extension of the Society's policy of re-publishing volumes of the Transactions in that format. Other electronic publications are under consideration.

The history of records publication by the Society is an example of how during over 130 years of its existence it has taken all opportunities within its financial means to harness the scholarship and industry of its members for the benefit of a wider public and also to move with the times in embracing modern technology not only in preprint and printing techniques to produce volumes economically but also to make records available through electronic media in pursuance of the objects stated in its constitution which include the promotion of the study of the history of Bristol and Gloucestershire and to publish records. It shows that the Society has not allowed itself to be so set in its ways and introspective as to become fossilised which is often too apparent in such organisations. The reputation of a county Archaeological and Antiquarian Society ultimately rests on the quality of its publications.

APPENDIX

Published under the terms of the legacy from Alfred Bruce Robinson

Record Publications and other Volumes

Vol. 1 *Marriage Bonds for the Diocese of Bristol, 1637–1800.* Transcribed by Denzil Hollis, B.A. and edited by Elizabeth Ralph. (1952)

Vol. 2 *Gloucestershire Marriage Allegations, 1637–1680.* Edited by Brian Frith. (1954)

Vol. 3 *The Registers of the Church of St Augustine the Less, Bristol, 1577–1700.* Transcribed and edited by Arthur Sabin. (1956)

Vol. 4 *The Parish Registers of Dymock, Gloucestershire, 1538–1790.* Edited by Irvine Gray and J.E. Gethyn-Jones. (1960)

Vol. 5 *A Guide to the Parish Records of Bristol & Gloucestershire.* Edited by Elizabeth Ralph and Irvine Gray. (1962)

Vol. 6 *The Church Book of St Ewen's Bristol, 1454–1584.* Edited by Betty R. Masters and Elizabeth Ralph. (1967)

Vol. 7 *Cheltenham Settlement Examinations, 1815–1826.* Edited by Irvine Gray. (1969)

Vol. 8 *Local Government in Gloucestershire, 1775–1800: A Study of the Justices of the Peace.* By Esther Moir. (1969)

Vol. 9 *Gloucestershire Marriage Allegations II, 1681–1700.* Edited by Brian Frith. (1970)

Vol. 10 *The Commission for Ecclesiastical Causes, 1574.* Edited by F.D. Price. (1972)

Vol. 11 *An Ecclesiastical Miscellany.* Edited by David Walker, W.J. Sheils and John Kent. (1976)

Vo. 12 *Antiquaries of Gloucestershire and Bristol.* By Irvine Gray. (1981)

Vol.13 *The Account Books of Thomas Smith of Ireley Farm, Hailes, Gloucestershire, 1865–1871.* Edited by Celia Miller. (1985)

GLOUCESTERSHIRE RECORD SERIES

Vol. 1 *Transportees from Gloucestershire to Australia,* 1783–1842. Edited by Irene Wyatt (1988).

Vol. 2 *Bigland's Gloucestershire Collections, Part 1 (A–C).* Edited by Brian Frith (1989).

Vol. 3 *Bigland's Gloucestershire Collections, Part 2 (D–M).* Edited by Brian Frith (1990).

Vol. 4 *Registers of Gloucester Freemen, 1641–1838.* Edited by John Jurica (1991).

Vol. 5 *Bigland's Gloucestershire Collections, Part 3 (N–T).* Edited by Brian Frith (1992).

Vol. 6 *The Military Survey of Gloucestershire, 1522.* Edited by R.W. Hoyle (1993).

Vol. 7 *Tewkesbury Churchwardens' Accounts, 1563–1624.* Edited by C.J. Litzenberger (1994).

Vol. 8 *Bigland's Gloucestershire Collections, Part 4 (U–Y, INDEXES).* Edited by Brian Frith (1995).

Vol. 9 *An Historical Gazetteer of Cheltenham.* Compiled by James Hodsdon (1997).

Vol. 10 *The Cartulary of St. Augustine's Abbey, Bristol.* Edited by David Walker (1998).

Vol. 11 *Original Acta of St. Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, c. 1122–1263.* Edited by Robert B. Patterson (1998).

Vol. 12 *Cheltenham Probate Records, 1660–1740.* Edited A.J.H. Sale (1999).

Vol. 13 *Bishop Benson's Survey of the Diocese of Gloucester, 1735–1750.* Edited by John Fendley (2001).

Vol. 14 *Gloucester Apprenticeship Registers, 1595–1700.* Edited by Jill Barlow (2001).

Vol. 15 *Registers of Llanthony Priory, 1457–1465, 1501–1525.* Edited by John Rhodes (2002).

Vol. 16 *Abstracts of Feet of Fines for Gloucestershire, 1199–1299.* Edited by C.R. Elrington (2003).

Vol. 17 & 18 *A Catalogue of the Medieval Muniments at Berkeley Castle.* Edited by Bridget Wells-Furby (2004).

Vol. 19 *Notes on the Diocese of Gloucester by Chancellor Richard Parsons, c. 1700.* Edited by John Fendley (2005).

Vol. 20 *Abstracts of Feet of Fines for Gloucestershire, 1300–1359.* Edited by C.R. Elrington (2006).

II

Women Land-Owners in Medieval Gloucestershire as seen in Feet of Fines

CHRISTOPHER ELRINGTON

WHEN David Smith succeeded, where others had failed, in setting up the Gloucestershire Record Series of the Bristol & Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, an obvious candidate for inclusion in the series was an edition of medieval Feet of Fines. Those documents, which are in the National Archives at the Public Record Office at Kew, have long been part of the basic raw material of local historians. For many counties they had been published but for Gloucestershire only a very small selection had been put in print. Two volumes have now been issued in the Record Series and a third, completing the series to the end of the reign of Henry VII, awaits publication.[1] The documents provide evidence on a wide range of historical topics, among which one that has not received much notice is the extent of land-owning by women in the male-dominated society of medieval England. Other widely used documents, notably inquisitions post mortem, provide evidence of large feudal estates held by women, and striking instances of the accumulation of land by aristocratic marriage to heiresses are to be found, for example, in the recently published *Berkeley Castle Muniments*.[2] The Feet of Fines give a picture of female ownership of land at a wider variety of social and economic levels

Feet of Fines are the records of agreements about the ownership of land. A fine, or more formally a final concord or agreement (in Latin 'finalis concordia'), was in origin, and thereafter in theory, the settlement of a dispute that had been taken to the king's court. The agreement was approved and recorded by the court, the record taking the form of a tripartite indenture: the words of the agreement were written out three times on a piece of parchment that was to be cut into three along wavy or indented lines forming an inverted T. The two halves of the upper part of the parchment were given to the parties to the settlement while the lower part, the foot, was retained by the court. What began in the 12th century as a way of resolving genuine legal disputes was soon found to be an effective method of conveying landed property, settling the way in which it was to pass, whether by sale or by descent within a family, since it gave the transaction the authority of the king's court in a permanent documentary form. From the early 13th century the legal actions which initiated the fines

[1] *Abstracts of Feet of Fines relating to Gloucestershire, 1199–1299*, ed. C. R. Elrington, Bristol & Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, Record Series, 16, 2003; *1300–1359*, ibid. 20, 2006; *1360–1509*, forthcoming. References to the three volumes are given below in the text in the form of a volume-number in bold type (**1** for 1199–1299, **2** for 1300–1359, **3** for 1360–1509) followed by the entry-number.

[2] *A Catalogue of the Medieval Muniments at Berkeley Castle*, ed. Bridget Wells-Furby, Bristol & Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, Record Series, 17 & 18, 2004.

or agreements were increasingly, and before long exclusively, collusive actions, the parties continuing to be described in terms denoting them as plaintiffs and defendants until final concords ceased to be used for conveyancing in the 1830s. The wording of the agreements is formal and technical, and it is not always possible, even after they had ceased to resolve genuine disputes, to be sure whether a final concord represents an actual change in ownership or the creation of a legal title to effect a settlement.

The evidence of final concords can be difficult to interpret in other ways and is open to conjecture and inference. In the context of land-ownership by women, the reasonable assumption that a woman who is not described as a wife or widow was unmarried seems to be belied in at least one place: a woman described only as Edith daughter of William Curtis, who in 1311 was to have life-estate in a house, 50 acres of arable land and 12 acres of woodland in Newent, is stated to have a son (to whom the estate was to pass on her death) and two daughters (**2**, no. 182). Among final concords that are puzzling are those involving Sir John Barre and his wife Joan in the later fifteenth century. In 1452 they made a settlement of the manors of East Hanham and Upton Cheyney, in Bitton, with four houses and some 800 acres in Bitton and neighbouring parishes, which were to be held for life not jointly by Sir John and Joan but by Sir John alone, who was not to be answerable for any reduction in their value through his actions or neglect. The property was clearly of Joan's inheritance, and on her husband's death was to go to her and her heirs (**3**, no. 622). One possible inference is that the couple had separated, but that seems less likely in the light of seven later transactions in which both were involved between 1466 and 1481, conveying houses, water-mills and parcels of land of Joan's inheritance in and near Lydney to various men who in return were, with one exception, to pay annuities ranging from 10s. to 37s. 6d. to Joan so long as she lived (**3**, nos. 680, 727–8, 731–4).

The legal actions initiating fines dealt only with estates held in fee simple or fee simple conditional, tenures not greatly different from what is now called freehold. The Feet of Fines refer, therefore, only incidentally and in a way that is largely uninformative to other forms of tenure, for example to land held by customary tenants of manors and to villein holdings. They cover, however, both very large estates and very small ones, and their holders were at various levels of the feudal hierarchy. Particularly with the large estates, the holdings at issue were often overlordships and mesne lordships rather than lands actually occupied by the people making the agreements. In April 1325, for example, Ebulo le Strange and his wife Alesia conveyed to the younger Hugh le Despenser, who paid them £1,000, an estate of Alesia's inheritance described as 133¼ knights' fees, of which 75 were in Wiltshire, 15 in Somerset, 11¼ in Dorset, 8 in Berkshire, 12 in Gloucestershire, 1½ in Devon, 9 in Hampshire and 2½ in Oxfordshire, naming more than 100 places including Oldbury upon Severn, Iron Acton, King's Weston, Ampney Crucis and Hatherop in Gloucestershire (**2**, no. 452). Small estates conveyed by fine may be represented by the three acres of arable in 'Hagherugg' (probably Herridges in Pauntley or Horage in Lydney) which Osbert son of Osbert granted in 1227 to Walter the clerk and his wife Godihold, who gave him 4 shillings, to hold during Godihold's life (**1**, no. 196).

For Gloucestershire in the period 1199 to 1509 there survive more than 2,800 Feet of Fines. Inevitably they record many fewer women's names than men's, the men's

including those of all the judges approving the agreements and all the attorneys who are often mentioned as representing the parties. In nearly three quarters of the fines, however, women were included in the parties to the agreements. Most commonly they appear jointly with their husbands as married couples; less often they appear in their own right as widows or single women.

While women had no public function in the law, spinsters and widows had the same private rights as men, with one important exception. That exception related to inheritance, for an eldest son's right to inherit excluded the right of any younger sons and all daughters; if there was no son and more than one daughter the inheritance was divided equally between the daughters.

When land was held by a married couple the husband's rights were larger than the wife's but were restricted. He could not alienate what was held in his wife's right, whether it came to her before or after their marriage, without her consent or by any process other than a final concord. Moreover, since his widow was entitled to enjoy for life, in the name of dower, one third of any land which he held at any time during the marriage, he was also unable to alienate land held in his own right without her consent, and again that consent was held to be effective only if the conveyance was made by a final concord.

The details of the final concord usually make clear whether the land was held in the husband's right or in the wife's. An agreement whereby they granted or settled property which the wife had inherited usually contains an indication that it was her right by stating that in granting or quitclaiming it she was acting for her heirs. A grant or settlement was often of a reversionary interest, and then the fine includes a statement that the property was of the husband's or the wife's inheritance. Another way in which an agreement may indicate whether jointly held property was the husband's or the wife's right is in a clause in which a couple making a grant or settlement undertake for themselves and the heirs of one of them to warrant the title of the grantees. In the 14th century such a clause mentioning the wife's heirs seems to be a firm indication of the wife's pre-existing right, but in the later 15th century there is sometimes an apparent contradiction where the grant specifies the heirs of one spouse and the warranty specifies the heirs of the other. If a widow held the property in dower or as joint tenant for life from an earlier marriage or settlement, the grant was of her life-interest.

Agreements settling property on a man and wife needed to provide for the succession to the property when they died, and, if it was to their descendants, for the possibility of the line failing. If the 'remainder' or the 'contingent remainder' was to the wife's heirs the inference is that the pre-existing right in the property was the wife's. The form of the agreement may, however, be misleading, as some agreements seem to have been intended to divert the succession of an estate from the wife's family to the husband's or vice versa.

Quantifying the extent of land-ownership by women as shown in the Feet of Fines can be only very approximate. In any one agreement either party, plaintiff or defendant, might be a single person or a group of people, including perhaps more than one married couple, so precise statistics of the involvement of women would be difficult and so complex as to be of little meaning. Nevertheless it can be calculated that women were parties to nearly three quarters of the fines relating to Gloucestershire in the period, with widows and single women as parties to one in ten. Of the other

agreements where women were joined as parties with their husbands two thirds concerned property which was held or to be held in the wife's right. The proportions, however, varied widely over time, as is shown in the table below, which divides the three centuries into periods of roughly fifty years.

Period	*total number of fines*	*with women as parties*	(%)	*widows or single women*	(%)	*other fines with wives involved*	
						all	*wife's right*
1199–1250	513	239	(46)	116	(23)	123	108
1251–1299	507	333	(65)	66	(13)	267	213
1300–1350	835	601	(72)	51	(6)	550	228
1351–1400	455	403	(89)	10	(2)	393	283
1401–1450	273	244	(89)	16	(6)	228	168
1451–1509	245	194	(79)	19	(8)	175	161
1199–1509	**2828**	**2014**	**(71)**	**278**	**(10)**	**1736**	**1161**

It will be seen that the number of fines was much larger in the first half of the 14th century than before or after, the result of a surge in popularity of the final concord as a method of conveyancing in the first two decades of the century. A legislative change of 1360 removed the ability of a final concord to bar claims to the property concerned by people who were not party to the agreement, and that may have been responsible for the gradual decline in the use of fines thereafter. The fall over three centuries in the proportion of agreements to which widows or single women were party is also remarkable.

The variation in the relative numbers of agreements where wives were parties and in the proportion of those agreements where the right to the property was apparently the wife's may have several causes. First, the comparatively small number in the first half of the 13th century of agreements involving wives and the high proportion of those agreements in which the right to the property was the wife's may be because at that time the agreements were less carefully drafted than later with regard to succession and perhaps, secondly, because when the right to property held jointly by a married couple was the husband's the couple was represented in the record of the action and the agreement by the husband alone. Thirdly, in the first half of the 14th century, when the total number of agreements was much larger than earlier or later, the husband's right to the property is indicated more often than the wife's. Fourthly, in the period 1451–1509 there are few agreements where only a husband's right is indicated, and, fifthly, in that period there are some agreements in which one clause suggests the husband's right and another the wife's.

Among the many instances of husbands and wives holding in right of the wife three may suffice as examples. In 1189 Aubrey de Hampton and her husband Walter Barun gave to the abbey of Winchcombe an estate of one hide (about 120 acres) in Sherborne occupied by their tenant Hugh the deaf man. In return the abbey gave Aubrey 2 marks (£1 6s. 8d.) and two loads of wheat and compensated her son Robert and her three daughters for their loss of expectation to inherit the land by giving them sixpence each (**1**, no. 1004). In 1207 Robert de Evercy acknowledged the right of Olympia, wife of Ralph de Willington, to half of each of three townships, Yate and Ablington in Gloucestershire and White Ladies Aston in Worcestershire. Robert was to hold them for his life, and on his death they were to revert to Ralph and Olympia

and their heirs in tail as tenants of Robert's heirs (**1**, no. 64).[3] The inference is that Olympia was Robert's sister or cousin. She was the granddaughter of a Robert de Evercy, who had given land and houses in Ablington together with the mill to Bruern Abbey (Oxon.), and Ralph and Olympia acknowledged the abbey's title in 1223 (**1**, no. 150).[4] Olympia's inheritance included rights in the woodland called Horwood, lying between Yate and Horton, where the bishop of Salisbury had a manor, and in 1236 Ralph and Olympia reached an agreement with the bishop about commoning rights in the wood and the clearing of woodland there. In 1241, after Ralph's death, Olympia came to an agreement with the bishop of Worcester about the land in Yate, which she was to hold as the bishop's tenant, paying 2½ marks (£1 13s. 4d.) a year, doing half a knight's service and attending the bishop's court at Henbury, as her predecessors had done. Another agreement, recorded on the very same date as Olympia's with the bishop of Worcester, was made about the land in Ablington by another Ralph de Willington, presumably the son and heir of Ralph and Olympia (**1**, nos. 242, 326–7).

The third instance also shows how the agreements in final concords can give evidence about bourgeois estates, in this case a substantial one, of a kind that does not figure in, for example, inquisitions post mortem. In 1405 John Droys and Margaret his wife conveyed Margaret's inheritance to a group of three clerks, presumably acting as feoffees or intermediaries. The inheritance comprised 24 houses, 56 shops, 10 tofts and 10 marks' rent in Bristol and 2 houses, 10 shops, 20 acres of arable land and 2 acres of meadow in Belluton and Pensford in Somerset, six miles south-south-east of the town (**3**, no. 381). (In the Feet of Fines, it may be noted, houses are invariably called messuages, which distinguishes them from cottages and other small buildings, but in this essay they are referred to as houses.)

An agreement relating to what at first appears to be a single estate might distinguish the parts of it that were of the husband's inheritance from those which were the wife's. John Newton, a Bristol burgess, and his wife Joan settled on themselves and their heirs in tail eight houses and four gardens in the suburbs of Bristol and twelve houses, 292 acres of arable land, 27 acres of meadow and 6 acres of woodland in Filton and other parishes north of the town. The contingent remainder, should there be no descendants of the marriage, was to be divided between Joan's heirs, who were to have more than three quarters of the estate, and her husband's (**3**, no. 459).

While most estates held as a wife's inheritance may be assumed to have come to her as heir some originated as marriage portions. Richard de Cromhall gave four ploughlands, probably nearly 500 acres in extent, in Cromhall and Alkerton to John and Joan de Walton in marriage. Joan was presumably Richard's daughter or sister. In 1254, when Richard had perhaps fallen on hard times, John and Joan agreed that Richard should hold the land during his life, paying a rent of only a pair of white gloves or one penny, little more than a token (**1**, no. 524). Eustace de Cam and his wife Alice had half a yardland, probably 16 acres, in Frampton, probably Frampton on Severn, which were of Alice's inheritance. They gave them to Alexander son of Ralph

[3] The agreement incidentally does not provide for the succession should the direct line of descent from Ralph and Olympia fail, illustrating the point made above about the drafting of fines of the period without enough care with regard to succession.

[4] Cf. *V.C.H. Glos.* vii. 29.

and his wife Felicia as a marriage portion. Later one William de Hereford claimed the land against Alexander and Felicia, who called on Eustace and Alice to warrant their title. In 1221 Eustace and Alice acknowledged that William was indeed their tenant in the land, paying them 16d. a year, and for that acknowledgement William gave them 5½ marks. That left Alexander and Felicia without their half yardland, and in compensation Eustace and Alice gave them a notional 16 acres in Cam, lying in 18 parcels, mostly of an acre each. The actual acreage may have been less than 16, since 3 acres were represented by a house and croft. The arrangement looks as though it resulted from a genuine legal claim brought by William against Eustace and Alice, but it is possible that the agreement was a relatively early instance of one settling a fictitious action, with William collusively giving Alexander and Felicia's title the security of the court's approval (**1**, no. 131).

Several pre-nuptial settlements are recorded in final concords. In 1347 Roger de Barley gave the reversion of a house, one ploughland, 200 acres of pasture and 18 shillings' rent in Calmsden, in North Cerney, which James Hussey held for a term of 12 years for a rent of only a penny a year, to his son Roger and James Hussey's daughter Sibyl and their heirs in tail. While Roger the father lived, the son and his future wife were to pay him 13s. 4d. a year, but after his death only a rose at Midsummer to his heirs. What is surprising is that the son and his future wife gave the father 100*s.* for the agreement. The inference is that the father was in need of ready money and an income, which his future daughter-in-law and her father were able to provide (**2**, no. 807). In the following year Sir Richard de Baskerville granted the manor of Combe Baskerville to his son Richard and Joan daughter of Adam de Everingham and their heirs in tail. The son and his intended wife paid the father 100 marks for the agreement, but the yearly rent which they were to pay was only a rose at Midsummer (**2**, no. 819).

Both married couples and widows or single women might prefer an annuity to income from land, whether owner-occupied or let to tenants. In 1255 Emma de la Hay, who seems to have been unmarried since she is not described as a wife, agreed that William de Hay, presumably a relation, should hold a house and two yardlands in Quenington or Quinton by her gift, paying her 4 marks a year during her life (**1**, no. 547). Agnes de la Chamber of Weston Subedge granted four houses and three and a half yardlands in 1328 to William de Whatcote and his wife Alice, who gave Agnes £20 and were to pay her 20 marks a year for her lifetime; after her death they were to pay her heirs only a rose at midsummer (**2**, no. 499). Roger de Aspley and his wife Juliana in 1331 granted Westwell manor in Oxfordshire, 18 marks of rent in Farmington and 5 acres of meadow in Eaton Hastings (Berks.), which they held for Juliana's life as her dower from an earlier marriage, to John de St. Philbert in exchange for an annual rent of 20 marks during Juliana's life (**2**, no. 563). In 1344 Richard de Hangleton and his wife Alice obtained the large annuity of £30 a year for their lives from Sir Fulk de Birmingham, to whom they made over Alice's inheritance of two houses, 400 acres of land, 110 acres of meadow, 20 acres of woodland and 9 marks' rent in Wightfield and Apperley (**2**, no. 761).

The annuity might be in kind rather than cash, as when Isabel, widow of John Malherbe, in 1227 surrendered to William son of Philip the one-third of half a hide in Lark Stoke which she claimed as dower in return for a yearly grant of half a measure of wheat and half a measure of rye, to be paid to her at Michaelmas at Evesham

(**1**, no. 186). In 1288 Ela, dowager countess of Warwick, who nearly forty years earlier had been party to an agreement with her mother Ela Longespée, dowager countess of Salisbury and founder and abbess of Lacock abbey in Wiltshire, to provide for her in her widowhood (**1**, no. 511), agreed with her kinsman Richard de Beauchamp, then earl of Warwick, that he should have the manor of Childswickham, along with her rights in the Warwickshire manors of Claverdon and Tanworth, in return for which he would make generous provision for her in money and venison, paying her £30 a year for life and delivering to her at her manor of Hook Norton in Oxfordshire the carcasses of four bucks on 1 September each year and four does on 30 November; she was also to retain £10 a year from the manor of Spelsbury, Oxfordshire, and the advowson of Tanworth (**1**, no. 937). When in 1241 Richard Lunant and his wife Constance agreed that the priory of St. Oswald's, Gloucester, should have the estate of one hide in Hampen that Constance had inherited the prior undertook to pay them for the rest of their lives 2 marks a year, to give them a daily allowance of bread and beer and to find them a lodging or pay them half a mark instead; when one of them died the 2 marks was to be reduced the 20 shillings and the payment instead of lodging to be halved, the allowance of bread and beer apparently remaining the same (**1**, no. 352). In most similar arrangements the annuity was to be halved when one of the married couple died, but in others a surviving husband was to have more than a surviving wife (e.g. **1**, no. 404). It is not clear whether it was a similar idea that underlay an agreement by which the rent paid by a married couple was to increase when a wife became sole tenant: in 1248 Peter Burgess and his wife Lucy were granted one and half yardlands in Slimbridge by Maurice de Duni and others, which they were to hold for their lives paying 2s. a year, but if Lucy survived Peter she was to pay 1 mark a year (**1**, no. 435).

The principle that a widow should have a third of her late husband's estate was applied in 1268 to three advowsons, the right to nominate a priest to a vacant rectory or vicarage. John le Fleming had held the advowsons of Wick Rissington in Gloucestershire and of Pulborough and Rudgwick in Sussex, and his widow Alice agreed that his brother and heir Henry should have the next turn when one of the three churches became vacant and she the turn after that and then every third turn as part of her dower (**1**, no. 711). The arrangement seems to have disregarded the disparity in the value of the three churches, which just over twenty years later were £20 a year for Pulborough, £13 6s. 8d. for Rudgwick and only £4 6s. 8d. for Wick Rissington.[5] An agreement of 1241 is an unusual instance of the dower third being applied to an estate held for life: William de la Mare granted to Geoffrey de la Mare, presumably a relation, a house and 4 acres of arable land in Rendcomb for his life, with the proviso that if Geoffrey's wife Clarice survived him she should have the house and one third of the land as dower for the remainder of her life (**1**, no. 384).

The final concords provide many instances of husband and wife disposing of the wife's inheritance. A good example comes from 1379–80 when Richard Clevedon and his wife Agnes granted various parts of Agnes's inheritance: the manor of Hinton by Dyrham went to Ralph Waleys, who gave them 100 marks, the manor of Sturden in Winterbourne and a mill in Barton Regis to Ralph Waleys and Peter Yeovilton, who gave them 200 marks, a house and more than 100 acres in Frenchay to Richard Cook

[5] *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* (Record Commission, 1802), pp. 134, 222, 240.

and Henry Baker, both of Hambrook, who gave them 100 marks, and a house, land and rent in Bristol and its suburb, with houses and about 80 acres in Somerset, to Robert Cheddar and others, who gave them 100 marks (**3**, nos. 181–2, 196, 198). In those agreements the variety of those to whom the estates were granted and the sums that Richard and Agnes received are indications that the agreements were for actual sales.

A widow with an estate of inheritance could provide for herself by selling the reversion to her property, as it seems Margaret the widow of a goldsmith, William de Pedmore, did when conveying her house in Gloucester, which she retained for her own lifetime, to Alexander le Hatter, a cleric (**2**, no. 623). A widow who had married again might feel that her new husband's property made her dower holding unnecessary, or perhaps the new husband decided to capitalise the value of her dower. Thus, for example, Walter de Horton and his wife Eleanor in 1339 conveyed all their right in a house, 2 ploughlands, 3 acres of meadow and 24 shillings' rent in Hawkesbury, which they held as Eleanor's dower from an earlier marriage, to William de Cheltenham, who gave them £20 (**2**, no. 693). In 1407 Robert Gilbert and his wife Joan conveyed her dower estate from an earlier marriage, one third of six houses, eleven shops, five cottages and arable, meadow and pasture in Gloucester, Cirencester, Standish and Longney, to Robert Banbury of Gloucester, who gave them 100 marks (**3**, no. 389).

In a considerable number of fines one party included two or more women who were said to be or may be assumed to have been coheirs to the property concerned. Herbert le Mercer's heirs to his five houses and eleven shops in Gloucester were his sister Alice, wife of Adam le Carpenter, and his nieces Emma wife of Walter de Blakesworth and Edith wife of Robert son of Stephen. Emma and Edith were the daughters of Herbert's deceased sister: had they been the daughters of a brother Alice would not have been one of the heirs. In 1268 the three women with their husbands agreed to release all the property to William de Sandhurst, who gave them 40 marks (**1**, no. 728). In that instance, as in several others, it is possible that the coheirs had decided that it was simpler to dispose of the property rather than try to divide it between them. In 1287 three sisters, Alice, Isabel and Margery, together with the husbands of Alice and Isabel, conveyed two houses, two shops, a toft and 3 shillings' rent in Gloucester, an estate which it would have been difficult to divide into three, to Richard Gabriel (**1**, no. 893). Similarly in 1457 Joan Henbarowe and Matilda wife of Thomas Bridge were heirs to a scattered estate of fifteen houses, 60 acres of arable land, 24 acres of meadow, 100 acres of pasture, 4 acres of woodland and 18 shillings' rent in Winchcombe, Swindon, Stallion (in Newent), and Ketford (in Dymock), which in that year, with Matilda's husband Thomas, they sold to a group of three men who gave them 200 marks (**3**, no. 652). The estate which two coheirs and their husbands, William and Denise Machin and Sibyl and John Beale, sold to Robert Whittington in 1410 was one third of a holding in Frampton Mansell (a house, a mill, two ploughlands, 7 acres of meadow, 12 acres of pasture, 28 acres of woodland and 60 shillings' rent) which had presumably been divided between three coheirs of an earlier generation (**3**, no. 408).

The division of estates between coheirs is illustrated by several of the final concords. Hugh de Kilpeck held the manor of Kilpeck in Herefordshire and lands in four other counties. He left as heirs two daughters, Isabel and Joan, who with their husbands,

William Walrond and Philip Marmion, agreed in 1258 on the division of the inheritance. William and Isabel were to have the manor of Kilpeck, one ploughland at Taynton[6] in Gloucestershire and the advowson of Norbury church in Worcestershire, and at a future date were to succeed to the manor of Rockley, which had been assigned to Hugh's widow Mazire.[7] Philip and Joan were to have five manors, in Wiltshire, Staffordshire and Shropshire, at least some of which were probably in the hands of tenants, since the division was clearly intended to be in equal halves: when William and Isabel came into possession of Rockley manor they were to pay Philip and Joan 42s. 6d. a year from the income of Rockley, and if they sold or granted away that manor they were to pay the money from Kilpeck manor. Their respective rights and obligations were to pass on their deaths to Isabel's and Joan's heirs (**1**, no. 619). In an agreement of April 1306 about the manor of Sezincote apparently dividing an inheritance between coheirs, Matilda daughter of Thomas de Sezincote was to have the manor, with lands and rent in Lincolnshire, while Henry de Duffield and his wife Alice were to have a house, three yardlands, and 12 acres of meadow within the manor. It is interesting that whereas Matilda seems then to have had no husband in prospect, by the time that the court granted and recorded the agreement seven weeks later she was married to Peter de Wallingford, who was joined with her as a party to the agreement (**2**, no. 80). A longer interval elapsed between the making of an agreement in May 1305 by a single woman, Olive daughter of Henry le Waleys of Bristol, conveying three houses, two shops and rent of £4 3s. 4d. in Bristol to Richard Estmere of Bristol, and the court's granting and recording the agreement eighteen months later, by which time Olive was married to Nicholas Estmere, presumably a relation of Richard (**2**, no. 92).

An agreement out of the normal run relating to a single woman's inheritance was recorded in 1236 when John Bonpas's daughter Matilda claimed by inheritance a yardland in Little Barrington from John Crocun and his wife Alice. John and Alice called on William Bonpas to warrant their title. Matilda agreed to release the yardland to William, so that he could fulfil his undertaking to John and Alice, and in exchange Matilda received from Robert le Bel, at William's request, a half yardland in Little Barrington which had belonged to William de Winchester. That somewhat tangled arrangement was further complicated because William de Winchester's widow Alice was still alive and claimed one third of the half yardland as dower (**1**, no. 268). How Matilda and the two Alices sorted out their conflicting claims has not been discovered.

Provision for unmarried women is shown in several of the agreements. In 1258 Walter de Mucegros agreed with four unmarried women who all shared his surname, Juliana, Amabilia, Joan and Lucy, that they should have houses and land in Bulley and across the county boundary in Herefordshire, which they would hold as Walter's tenants for the period of their lives, after which the estates would revert to Walter. Juliana and Amabilia had larger amounts of land than Joan and Lucy and were to pay smaller rents, 2*s.* 6*d.* each a year compared with 10*s.*, so it is unlikely that all four were sisters, sharing an inheritance, though they may have been two pairs of sisters (**1**, no.

[6] In the edition the place, named as 'Tohinton' in the MS., is tentatively identified as Tockington, but is in fact Taynton. Mr. M. A. Davis is thanked for the correction.

[7] Cf. *V.C.H. Wilts.* xii. 144.

622). When in 1337 Henry Elyvaunt and his wife Petronilla made a settlement of their five houses and some 150 acres in Minchinhampton they had already granted 2 acres of arable and 1 acre of meadow from it to their daughters Agnes and Justina, presumably to provide them with a modest income (**2**, no. 641). An estate in Sandhurst and Brawn, in which Flaxley Abbey had an interest, was in 1255 providing not only for Hugh de Park's widow Olympia, who had dower there, but also for Amaury de Park's daughter Wenthlian, who lived in Gloucester as a recluse and was entitled to annual rents amounting to £3 4s. 8d. from the estate for as long as she lived (**1**, nos. 562, 576).

Besides recording the ownership of land by women who figure as parties to the actions and agreements, final concords also afford glimpses of rights or claims to land of women involved only peripherally in the transactions. About forty agreements settled ownership on a woman who was not a party, whether jointly with her husband or as a widow, a daughter, an otherwise apparently unmarried woman or, in one instance, as the mother of one of the parties (**1**, no. 768). As many again record the names of women to whom an estate would pass on the expiry of a life-estate conferred by the agreement. A large proportion of the final concords name women as tenants for life of the property concerned, either jointly with their husbands or as widows (often holding in dower) or unmarried women. Then there are those recording women as holding the land, alone or jointly with husbands, and owing rent, homage and service as under-tenants to those making the agreement, some as freeholders and others as customary tenants. Lastly, the claims by non-parties were, until 1359, endorsed on the feet of fines, and of the 114 such endorsements 40 include the names of women.

It is difficult to refrain from noting, as a postscript, that a minor difference between the male and female landowners in medieval Gloucestershire is the more imaginative range of forenames among the women. The name Godihold has already been mentioned; other rareties which occur just once each in the documents surveyed above are Alcelota, Amisia, Asselina, Belesora, Blandina, Celestra, Chyldina, Egelentina, Elfruna, Elisia, Emecina, Emelina, Ermesant, Erneburga, Marsilia, Mathea, Osmoda, Pavia, Risandina, Rona, Stephana.

III

Northleach: New Light on the Making of a Gloucestershire Town

NICHOLAS HERBERT

ONE of the most significant features of the history of rural settlement in England during the 12th and 13th centuries was the establishment of new market towns. In what was generally a period of prosperity and expansion in the countryside, with rising population, much new land being taken into cultivation, many new secondary hamlets being established, and new churches and monasteries being founded, many lords of manors were encouraged to try and improve the value of their estates by upgrading villages to market towns and trading centres. In Gloucestershire in the 250 years between the start of 12th century and the middle of 14th we have records of just over 40 attempts by local landowners to set up market towns.[1]

Among new Gloucestershire towns of the period was Northleach, established in about 1220 by the county's leading religious house, the Benedictine abbey of St. Peter at Gloucester. Its foundation can be dated with reasonable accuracy by a grant from the Crown to the abbey in 1220 of the right to hold a market and fair at Northleach.[2] Some accounts of the town give the date of the market grant as 1227, but that relates to a confirmatory charter granted during a process by which the young king Henry III, having declared himself of full age, questioned or confirmed acts done in his name during his minority.[3] The only other record which helps to date the establishment of the town is from *c.* 1235 when Gloucester abbey and Cirencester abbey, lord of the hundred of Bradley, settled the mode of exercising hundredal jurisdiction over what was then styled 'the new market town'.[4]

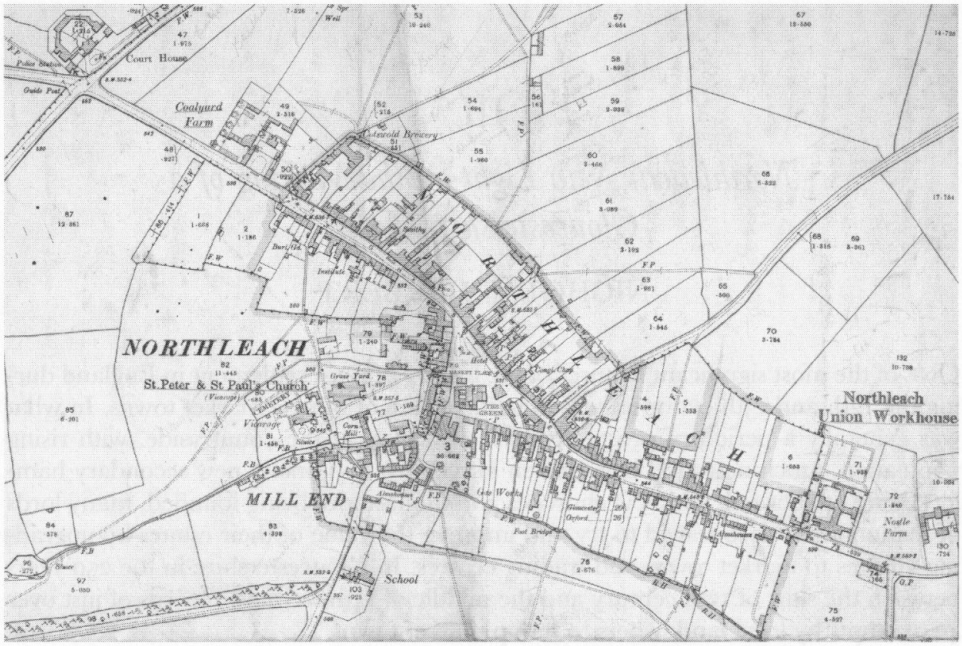
During research on Northleach for a volume of the *Victoria County History* (*Gloucestershire* IX, published 2001) a significant additional document came to light. It is in effect the charter of liberties, granted by Gloucester Abbey to its new burgesses at the establishment of the town, though it is not in the usual form of such charters. The main reason it has escaped notice by earlier historians is that it appears in the surviving records of Llanthony priory, Gloucester, rather than, as would be expected, in those of St. Peter's abbey. No copy is to be found in the abbey cartulary, compiled in the late 13th century (and published 1863–7), which includes other key Northleach documents such as the 1227 market charter and the agreement with Cirencester

[1] The rough figure is based on the list of market grants in H.P.R. Finberg, 'The Genesis of the Gloucestershire Towns', *Glos. Studies* (1957), 86–8, as supplemented by later research into some places in the volumes of the *Victoria County History of Gloucestershire.*

[2] *Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestrie*, ed.W. H. Hart (Rolls Series, 3 vols. 1863–7), i. 26, 103; *Pipe Roll*, 1220 (Pipe Roll Society, new series xlvii), 79.

[3] *Hist. et Cart. Mon. Glouc.* i. 104; ii. 38–9.

[4] Ibid. ii. 35–7.



Northleach, c. 1900, showing the still largely undeveloped medieval plan within the old borough boundary (marked by a dotted line) (O.S. Map 1/2,500, Glos. XXXVI.10, 1903 edn.)

Northleach from the south, c. 1970, by which date new housing had been added on the north side of the town, beyond the medieval burgage plots and boundary (Glos. Record Office, D 3295/II/6)

abbey,[5] or in the unpublished late 14th-century register of Abbot Frocester which collected and arranged the abbey's title deeds and other documents relating to its manors and property.[6] The document was copied—with some evident copyist's errors—into the register of John Wyche, prior of Llanthony 1409–36, in connexion with property in Northleach town acquired by Llanthony in 1412.[7] It is styled an 'agreement' between the abbot of Gloucester and the burgesses and lacks the usual preamble that might be expected in a borough charter, so it may be a preliminary compact intended to be incorporated in more official form. Whether a formal charter was issued by the abbey to burgesses is not known; if so, it and the agreement seem to have been lost sight of later, at least by the early 17th century when neither figured in a list of evidences preserved in the town chest.[8]

The new town of Northleach[9] was created out of part of Gloucester abbey's large manor of Northleach, comprising an area of the central Cotswolds lying on the east side of the Foss way and straddling the upper reaches of the little river Leach (from which Northleach was, of course, named). The available evidence—in the form of earthwork remains of vanished dwellings as well as documentation—shows that in the early Middle Ages the large manor contained a number of well-populated hamlets strung out along the valley of the Leach, the highest of which, situated close to the Foss way, contained the church and manorial buildings. It was that highest hamlet that the abbey in about 1220 set about transforming and enlarging into a market town and trading centre.

It has sometimes been assumed that the new town was laid out on a virgin site. In his standard work on the new towns of the early Middle Ages Maurice Beresford included it as one of his three completely new Gloucestershire town foundations (with Chipping Sodbury and Moreton-in-Marsh), though he made his conclusion tentative by a query as to where, in that case, the parish church of Northleach, recorded in 1100, more than a century earlier, stood.[10] The document in the Llanthony register confirms unequivocally—in its reference to the 'hamlet where the borough now is'—that the new town incorporated an existing hamlet and so should be included in that much more numerous category of new towns that Professor Beresford styled 'promoted villages'. That it was based on an existing hamlet was, in any case, suggested by the boundary that was drawn around the new town to emphasise the distinction between the area whose occupants were to enjoy the new borough liberties and the area that was to remain under the manorial system. On the south-west of the town the boundary followed a tortuous course to exclude the parish church with its churchyard, the manor farm, and the manor mill, a group of buildings that would continue to serve the whole of Northleach, both borough and manor. This implies that those buildings already existed on the site when the town was created and formed part of a hamlet that was the principal or primary one on the manor. Possibly the part of the town known as Millend, adjoining the churchyard on the south, had formed the

[5] Ibid. ii. 35–42.

[6] In Gloucester Cathedral Library.

[7] National Archives, C 115/76, f. 68v.

[8] Glos. Record Office, D 398/1, pp. 342, 411, 427, 440.

[9] For discussion and evidence for the town's plan and site, see my account in *Victoria County History of Glos.* ix (2001), 108–10.

[10] M. Beresford, *New Towns of the Middle Ages* (1988 edn.), 439–41.

basis of the original hamlet. Millend was taken in by the borough boundary but in the layout of its houses contrasts with the ordered burgage plots of the rest of the town. The boundary, which on all other parts was drawn tightly round the backs of the burgage plots, included only 43 acres of land, while the residue of Northleach manor, distinguished from the borough as 'Northleach Foreign (*Forinsecus*)' in the Middle Ages and later known as 'Eastington', retained 3,995 acres.

The main aim of the 'agreement' was to define the status of the settlers in the new town in relation to their lord, and its provisions are much as might be expected from the charters of other small boroughs. In its statement of the liberties and customs it is in fact more informative than many borough charters, which often omit a full statement of liberties and refer instead to an existing borough which provided an appropriate precedent. Elsewhere in Gloucestershire, the charter of Richard de Clare, earl of Gloucester, establishing Thornbury as a borough *c.* 1250 merely cited the liberties of his older borough of Tewkesbury,[11] while Tetbury's borough charter, confirmed in 1268 and apparently granted by William de Breuse *c.* 1200, gave 'all the liberties and free customs contained in the law of Breteuil (a small Norman borough often cited as an exemplar) as the burgesses of Hereford have most freely and best used them'.[12]

The first clause of the Northleach document, apart from confirming that it dates from the establishment of the town *c.* 1220, shows that, as in other cases, the building of the houses was left to the individual settlers who moved in. The role of the lord and his officers was confined to making the overall plan, in this case laying out on the floor of the Leach valley a triangular-shaped market place and a single trading street formed of the long and narrow burgage plots typical of a planned medieval town. As we see it now depicted on a large-scale O.S. map the plan is partly the result of modifications made later in the Middle Ages, a period when Northleach enjoyed economic success. New buildings then went up on parts of the market place, and the burgage plots, originally a near standard size of *c.* 16 yards wide by *c.* 100 yards wide, were divided longitudinally to make room for new dwellings. By the mid 16th century the town contained many tenements described as 'half burgages' and some as 'quarter burgages'. Conversely, in a few cases two or three burgages had been amalgamated by wealthier inhabitants, particularly the town's wool merchants, to make room for more impressive dwellings on the street front and warehousing and yards where packhorses could be stabled and loaded up. All of which is reflected on the map in the varying widths of plots, all still of standard length and all still jostling for position, as it were, on the market place and main trading street.

The abbey's initial opening offer of three years' rent-free occupation to attract settlers was not unsuccessful. In 1267, when surveys were made of Gloucester abbey's estates, 64 burgages and a number of other dwellings, distinguished as 'messuages' (possibly in Millend), were occupied by a total of 71 tenants, suggesting that, with families and others who worked for, or sub-let from, the tenants, the little town had a population of at least 400. The survey also shows where some of new settlers had come from—as might be expected, from villages of the immediately surrounding area of Cotswolds. Among occupants of the burgages are people surnamed 'of Rissington',

[11] Glos. R.O., D 282/T 1.

[12] Ibid. D 566/T 1/3; *VCH Glos.* xi. 275.

'of Hazelton', 'of Windrush', 'of Yanworth', 'of Turkdean', and 'of Aylworth'.[13] The option retained by the abbey of purchasing any burgage that a tenant wished to sell allowed it to 'vet' newcomers for their suitability, a control that it later maintained through the borough court, where burgages had to be surrendered and re-granted to new purchasers. By the prohibition on selling to other religious houses the abbey sought to avoid the possibility of another self-perpetuating, and perhaps powerful, institution complicating their control of the town and their relationship with their tenants. That had apparently become a less important consideration by the early 15th century when Llanthony priory, using what seems the specious argument that previous owners had been neifs (unfree tenants) on its manor of Great Barrington, was allowed to obtain, and retain to the Dissolution, burgage property in the town.[14]

Underlying the creation of a borough and the granting of burgess rights was a bargain by which, in return for a cash rent from each burgage and the prospect of increased income from tolls on trade and a wider exercise of local justice, a lord waived the rights and profits he might have enjoyed if the inhabitants had remained under the manorial system. On their part the new burgesses escaped the burdensome customs and irksome restrictions under which tenants in rural manors laboured: the agreement specifies freedom to marry off their children without the lord's permission, as well as the right to make wills and to dispose freely of their houses by devise or by sale. Not specified but understood was the freedom from agricultural work on the lord's demesne farm, enabling the burgesses to pursue unhampered their chosen occupations. For an enterprising man from one of the surrounding villages the new town offered a chance to better himself by following a craft and selling goods and services to outsiders frequenting the market, as well as the opportunity to live under a less restrictive system.

The creation of a market centre on his estate gave a lord the opportunity to tap into the profits of trade by the levy of tolls. For those coming from elsewhere to trade in the town (*extranei*), the agreement specifies the tolls to be paid on some items of livestock and produce, while providing that tolls on other items shall be related to what was levied in neighbouring, and possibly competing, markets. The burgesses themselves, as was the usual practice, were freed from almost all tolls, though the abbey was unwilling to forgo altogether profit from their activities and reserved a toll on brewing ale for sale and on horse-dealing; the tolls on those activities were confirmed by the 1267 survey as the sole obligations owed by the burgesses to their lord apart from burgage rents and suit of court.[15] The abbey's rural tenants in the area (*nostri vicini*) were also given a limited advantage in respect of the corn and malt brought for making for their own use bread and ale, staples of the medieval diet. Its tenants in Northleach Foreign and the immediately neighbouring manor of Aldsworth would be the main beneficiaries of that provision, and perhaps it was intended also to encourage men from two other nearby abbey manors, Coln Rogers and Coln St. Aldwyns, to frequent Northleach market, in preference to alternative venues such as Fairford and Cirencester. Sheep-dealing, as might be expected in the Cotswolds, figures in the provisions on toll, though there is no reference to the wool trade, which was to give the small town its importance later in the Middle Ages. Wool would be presumably

[13] *Hist. et Cart. Mon. Glouc.* ii. 176–8.
[14] *VCH Glos.* ix. 123.
[15] *Hist. et Cart. Mon. Glouc.* ii. 176.

one of the commodities regulated on a flexible basis, taking into account tolls charged by neighbouring towns, with which during the 14th and 15th centuries Northleach competed for the attentions of the merchant staplers of Calais and the agents of Italian merchants who came to deal with Cotswold woolmen.

No agricultural land was included within the boundaries of the new borough, but the burgesses were given the right to graze animals on two commons in Northleach manor formerly used by the inhabitants of the hamlet on the site. The common that is described in the agreement as lying by the Foss way north of the town can be identified as Northleach Downs, where in modern times those holding burgages had pasture for their cows and which, administered by a body of charity trustees, remains in the ownership of the townspeople today. The other common mentioned, south of the town behind the abbey's mill, was evidently represented later by land called Wellings, where the burgesses' rights of common were retained until extinguished by agreement with the lord of the manor *c.* 1815.[16]

The document throws little light on the way the new borough was to be administered. Unsurprisingly in a grant of liberties to a small non-royal borough at the period, there is no suggestion that the burgesses are to be allowed any degree of self-government. The borough was given its own court, distinct from that of Northleach manor, but that was for the convenience of the lord in enforcing payment of his rents and tolls and registering the transfer of burgages. A bailiff appointed by the abbey is intended to remain the dominant figure in town government, though possibly, as was the case later, he would be himself a burgess and chosen annually from a short-list of names submitted by the burgesses to the abbey's steward.[17] The bailiff was to preside in the borough court and pass sentence, including, the agreement tells us, on those who broke the assizes governing the quality and weight of bread and ale sold in the town. There is, however, the interesting provision for the appointment of two burgess representatives to check, in ways that are not elaborated on, arbitrary actions by the abbey's officers. Also there is a specific curb on unfair impositions by the abbey and its officers in the form of an undertaking to pay within 40 days for goods and services provided by the townsfolk.

One of the most interesting features of the town's later history is the appearance by the mid 16th century of a system of government that gave the burgesses unusual freedom of action. They were by then governing through their own town court, almost independently of the lord of the borough, and were appointing their own hierarchy of officers; it was a system that in the 16th century already seemed top-heavy for what was literally a 'one-street town' and it became increasingly incongruous later, as the town's economy dwindled. Nothing in this agreement prefigures such a liberal system and, sadly, evidence of its evolution seems to be almost completely lacking. As the first record of it comes in a court book that begins in 1548 it is not even clear if it developed while Gloucester abbey still held the lordship of Northleach or arose from the particular circumstances of the Dissolution.[18]

The large number of market towns created in theory by grants obtained from the Crown by early-medieval lords was in practice winnowed out by economic realities.

[16] *VCH Glos.* ix. 125.
[17] Glos. R.O., D 936A/M 5; D 678/ct. rolls/92.
[18] *VCH Glos.* ix. 132–4.

Of the places in Gloucestershire which had market grants little more than half survived the Middle Ages as viable market towns with a significant amount of trade or other urban characteristics. Some attempts were hopelessly optimistic and doomed to failure; others after some initial success foundered in the late Middle Ages in economic times that were much less favourable to growth, as plague, depopulation, and a recession in arable farming changed the face of the English countryside. Northleach had not the intrinsic weakness of some putative markets, hampered by geography and proximity to already established market centres. It was well enough placed, with enough room for a viable area of operation between its older neighbours, Winchcombe, Burford, Fairford, and Cirencester, and it was accessible by recognised main routes of communication, the Foss way and the Cotswold saltway, which crossed the Foss in Stowell near by. When founded in the early 13th century it also had the benefit of a populous area of rural manors to serve, but that situation was to change in the later Middle Ages. Its viable market hinterland is one particularly rich in evidence of shrunken villages and deserted minor hamlets. In the rural part of Northleach parish alone, the number of occupied dwellings in the straggle of hamlets in the Leach valley below the town fell from over 40 in 1267 to around 19 by the mid 16th century.[19]

That Northleach town remained economically viable in late Middle Ages was due to its role as a collection and distribution centre for Cotswold wool, and that trade spawned a small cloth-making industry which helped to sustain the little town into the 17th century. Subsequently its reduced and limited economic role left intact much of the 13th-century town plan, which was only enlarged beyond the ancient boundary from the mid 20th century by council housing and, after a new bypass ended a traffic problem in 1984, by private development. The core of the town remains one of the most complete Gloucestershire examples of the phenomenon of planned boroughs, and the emergence of further evidence for its origins is welcome.

COPIA COMPOSITIONIS INTER ABBATEM GLOUCESTRIE ET BURGENSES VILLE DE NORTHLECHE

(*National Archives*, C 115/76, f. 68v.)

Concedimus omnibus hominibus qui burg[agi]a[a] construxerint vel constructaturi sunt in villa nostra de Lecche[b] ut sint quieti primis tribus annis tam de redditu quam de aliis consuetudinibus que burg[agi]o[a] pertinent. Et quod eis liceat cum voluerint burg[agi]a[a] constructa cum proprio custu suo dare vendere vel invadiare cuicumque voluerint praeterquam viris religiosis. Non enim liceat alicui transferre burgagium[a] suum ad locum religiosum nisi ad domum nostram. Si vero aliquo casu emergente burgagia sua vendere voluerint dato a nobis pretio quod ab aliis recepturi essent erimus propinquiores[c]. Concedimus etiam liberum transitum per terras nostras ita quod sit sine nocumento nostro tam nostris burgensibus quam extraneis frequentibus mercatum nostrum de Lecche. Et ut habeant totam pasturam et totam communam quam habuerunt in villa[d] qui in hameleto manserunt ubi modo est burgum scilicet in

[19] Ibid. 115.

campo versus aquilonem a porta Hertbiry[e] usque ad Fos, similiter versus occidentem retro molendinum nostrum a Maydenborowe[f] usque ad Fos. Et ut habeant liberum transitum per terram nostram averiis suis ita quod sit sine nocumento nostro ad pasturam suam. Qui autem in [?forisfacto][g] fuerit pro parvis delictis dabit ante iudicium sex denarios, post iudicium duodecim. In maioribus excessibus sicut pro pondere minoris panis aut pro cervisia minus bona erit in primo excessu misericordia xijd, in sequentibus excessibus huius [modi][h] erit misericordia dimidiam marcam aut iudicium et pena tumberelli[i] prout ballivo magis expedire videbatur. Et eligi debent duo ab illis burgensibus ad videndum ne servientes nostri eis iniurientur. Reddent siquidem pro quolibet burgagio xijd ad duos terminos per annum videlicet ad Annunciationem Beate Marie vjd et ad festum Sancti Michaelis vjd. Nec licebit nobis nec alicui de nostris capere aliquid in memorato burgo quod infra quadgraginta dies non solvatur nisi de consensu burgensium terminus prolongetur. De theloneo dando in predicto burgo, hanc providimus et concessimus consuetudinem ut quilibet qui in burgo illo cervisiam ad vendendum fecit de quolibet bracino dabit jd, similiter de bracino parato in villa nostra si illud extra villam vendiderit. Si quis vero burgensis vicino suo burgensi equum vendiderit tam emptor quam venditor dabit jd, si extraneus extraneo dabit jd et venditor jd. Si vero ad nundinas extraneus extraneo vendiderit equum tam emptor quam venditor dabit ijd. De omnibus aliis mercaturis erunt burgenses nostri liberi. Si autem bovem vel vaccam extraneus vendiderit extraneo emptor dabit obolum et venditor obolum. Si vero burgensis emerit vel vendiderit bovem vel vaccam nichil dabit. Si extranei in mercato nostro oves vendiderint dabunt pro x ovibus jd. Si extranei bladum vel brasium in mercato nostro emerint ad portandum alibi pro summagio equi dabunt obolum, pro carecata dabunt iij obolos nisi nostri vicini sint qui dictum bladum vel brasium ad victum suum emerint. De aliis mercaturis dabunt secundum consuetudinem aliorum burgorum vicinorum. Concedimus et ut dicti burgenses nostri liberam habeant facultatem maritandi filios suos et filias et prodendi testamenta sua secundum libertatem quam habent de Oxonie [quaecumque] rei. Testes, etc.

a. At the first three occurrences the word appears as *burga, burgo* with no indication of an abbreviation; at the fourth, *burgagium* is clearly indicated.

b. Early references to the name usually take this form, though the prefix *North-* , to distinguish Northleach from other places named from the river Leach, was generally in use by the 13th century.

c. Sometimes used to mean 'the next heirs' (*Revised Medieval Latin Word-List*, 1965, 377), so here presumably 'take preference in succeeding to the property'.

d. Perhaps in error for *villata*, as evidently 'the vill', i.e. the whole manor and parish of Northleach, is intended.

e. Presumably in error for *Hertbury*, or perhaps for *Norbury*, which is the later name for the hill-fort in the north of the parish adjoining Northleach Downs; the 'gate' was probably where the lane from the Foss to Farmington breaks through the fort's west bank.

f. This feature, evidently to the south of Millend, was perhaps the earthwork later known as Helen's ditch: *VCH Glos.* ix. 107.

g. Original has *forinseco*, evidently a copyist's error.

h. I have assumed *modi* is missing here.

i. Original has *timberelli*.

Translation

A COPY OF AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE ABBOT OF GLOUCESTER AND THE BURGESSES OF THE TOWN OF NORTHLEACH

We grant to all men who have built or are about to build burgages in our town of Leach that they may be quit for the first three years both of the rent and the other customary obligations that appertain to a burgage.

And that they may be allowed, when they so wish, to grant, sell, or mortgage the burgages built at their own cost to whoever they wish, except to men in religious orders, for no one will be allowed to convey his burgage to a religious house unless it be to our house. Yet if for any reason that arises they wish to sell their burgages we will be [given preference], having paid the price that they would have received from others.

We grant furthermore, provided it is without injury to us, free passage over our lands both to our burgesses and to outsiders visiting our market of Leach.

And [we grant] that they may have all the pasture and rights of common that those who lived in the hamlet where the borough now is had in that vill, namely in the field in the north from [Hertbury] gate as far as the Foss [way], and in the west, behind our mill, from Maydenborowe as far as the Foss. And they may have free passage to their pasture with their animals over our land, provided it is without injury to us.

Those who may have [incurred a penalty] for small offences will give 6*d.* before the judgement and 12*d.* after the judgement. In the case of greater transgressions, such as for bread of short weight or for ale of poor quality, their fine at the first offence will be 12*d.*, and for subsequent offences it will be half a mark or else judgement and punishment by the tumbrel, as seems the more appropriate to the bailiff.

And two [men] shall be chosen from the burgesses to see that our officers do not ill treat them.

They will render for each burgage 12*d.* a year at two terms, namely at the Annunciation 6*d.* and at Michaelmas 6*d.*

Nor shall we, or anyone acting for us, be permitted to take anything in the said borough that is not paid for within 40 days, unless by the agreement of the burgesses the term is extended.

Concerning the payment of toll in the said borough, we establish and grant the custom that whoever brews ale for sale in the borough will give 1*d.* for each brewing; similarly for a brewing done in the town and sold outside it. If a burgess sell a horse to a fellow burgess both the buyer and the seller will give 1*d.*, and if an outsider sell to another outsider both will pay 1*d.* If at fair time an outsider sells a horse to another outsider then both will give 2*d.* For all other goods traded our burgesses shall be free [of toll].

If an outsider sells an ox or cow to another outsider the buyer will give ½*d.* and the seller ½*d.* If a burgess buys or sells an ox or cow he will give nothing. If outsiders sell sheep in our market they will give 1*d.* for every 10 sheep. If outsiders buy corn and malt in our market to carry away they will give for each packhorse-load ½*d.* and for each wagon-load 1½*d.*, unless they are our men from the neighbourhood who are

buying the corn or malt for their household use. For other goods traded they will give what is customary in neighbouring boroughs.

We grant furthermore that our burgesses shall have freedom in marrying off their sons and daughters, and in making their wills according to the liberty that the men of Oxford have in that matter. Witnesses, etc.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am most grateful to Professor Christopher Elrington for reading through and advising on my transcript and translation, and to the Gloucestershire Record Office for permission to reproduce the illustrations, from copies in their collection.

IV

The Pleas of St. Kyneburgh: Gloucester v. Llanthony Priory, 1390–2

JOHN RHODES

In 1391 the priory of Llanthony-by-Gloucester alleged that the Gloucester burgesses had made an armed attack on its property and servants.[1] In 1456 it claimed that they had been encroaching on its rights ever since the ablest of its canons died in the Black Death 107 years before.[2] These *ex parte* allegations, made in the heat of disputes over St. Kyneburgh's chapel and the priory's liberties, have been repeated by historians[3] but are no more reliable than similar claims that the burgesses attacked the property and servants of Gloucester Abbey in 1449, 1463 and 1513.[4] In fact the attack in 1449 was not on the abbey but on the private vineyard of Abbot Boulers, for his failure to defend the wine trade between Gloucester and Gascony as envoy to Aachen; the attack in 1463 was not by burgesses but by rural insurgents on a borough magistrate who had taken sanctuary.[5] In 1513 the alleged attack on the abbey's meadow was a peaceful re-cutting of a boundary ditch, and alleged attacks on the abbey's servants were arrests by warrant of a J.P.[6]

Accordingly this paper, which enlarges on the work of Ann Geddes,[7] will show that the burgesses were generous and indulgent to Llanthony Priory until they were abused beyond endurance; that in 1390–2 when they turned against the priory their only weapon was disclosure of the priory's irregularities; and that even after the priory had forfeited their goodwill as a monastery they respected it as a landowner. The evidence was originally made available to Dr. Geddes and me by David Smith as county archivist;[8] I am grateful to Gloucestershire Archives and Gloucester Museums for facilities to work on it.

[1] Register of William Chirton, prior of Llanthony 1377–1401, P.R.O. C 115/78, f. 145.

[2] *Registers of the Priory of Llanthony by Gloucester 1457–1525*, ed. John Rhodes (B.G.A.S. 2002), p. 15.

[3] *Victoria County Hist. of Glos.* **4**, 62; Nigel Baker and Richard Holt, *Urban Growth and the English Church: Gloucester and Worcester* (Aldershot, 2004), 302, cf. 304.

[4] Repeated by Julian Luxford in *Trans. B.G.A.S.* **120**, 206–7 n. 110, where 1363 is an error for 1463 and the dates 1513 and 1518 refer to the same event.

[5] C.L. Kingsford, *Eng. Hist. Literature in the 15th Cent.* (Oxford, 1913), 355–6, translated in *Glevensis* **35**, 39. For the insurgency cf. R.H. Hilton, *The English Peasantry in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1975), 71–3. Michael Greet supplied this reference.

[6] Glos. Archives GBR B8/7.

[7] 'The Priory of Llanthony by Gloucester: an Augustinian House in an English Town, 1136–1401' (Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, 1997; copy in Glos. R.O. library), 370–416.

[8] Glos. Archives, microfilms 1100–6, from the priory's cartularies and registers P.R.O. C 115/73–85, esp. MF 1103 from Reg. Chirton C 115/78.

DENISE BULLEY'S GRANT: COLLABORATION, 1348–69

Individually, more than 180 burgesses of Gloucester were the priory's tenants-in-fee, tenants-at-term or tenants-at-will.[9] Collectively, however, the burgesses were the superior lords, holding the borough in fee farm by royal charter.[10] As collectors of landgavel rent[11] they were entitled to seize burgages on which rent was unpaid in default of heirs or assigns; consequently they witnessed and registered assignments or grants-in-fee in the borough hundred court.[12] When called upon to witness grants to religious houses which were not licensed as required by the Mortmain Statute of 1279[13] they faced a severe test of loyalty. At a mortmain inquiry in 1312 they testified that four monasteries, including Llanthony Priory, had made 14 unlicensed acquisitions in the borough in the previous 20 years.[14] Yet at the time of the Black Death, far from encroaching on the priory's rights, they showed it unswerving loyalty in support of an unlicensed grant by the merchant butcher Walter Silvester of Boyfeld and his wife Denise Bulley.[15]

The grant consisted of two substantial tenements in Broadsmith (now Berkeley) Street and Gore (now Bull) Lane and a shop with a solar above at no. 60 Westgate Street.[16] In 1348, evading the Statute of Mortmain in the usual way, the donors granted the three properties to a nominee, Thomas of Compton vicar of Colesbourne, on the understanding that he would convey them to the priory. The priory paid the cost of the transaction. Within a few months Compton died without heirs or assigns, presumably of the Black Death.[17] Instead of exercising its right to seize the properties, the burgesses allowed the donors to repossess them and to grant them again on 9–14 March 1349 through three contradictory deeds. First they entered into a bond whereby the priory could distrain on the properties unless they paid £100 by the 25th of the month. Secondly they granted the properties to the priory outright. Thirdly they granted them to a second nominee, John Yvor of Alvington, who re-granted them to the priory on the same day. The explicit grants to the priory were illegal and would have led to confiscation by the royal escheator but for the silence of the witnessing burgesses. This was particularly burdensome for prominent witnesses like Walter of Elmore, Richard Ashwell, Thomas Crook and Robert Pope, whose close kinsmen were to represent the borough in Parliament in the next few decades.[18]

With careful management the priory could have obtained a mortmain licence as promptly as that which it secured in 1350 for land at Brockworth.[19] Instead it assumed

[9] Terrier of Llanthony Priory, P.R.O. C 115/73.

[10] *V.C.H. Glos.* **4**, 29–30.

[11] *Rental of Houses in Gloucester A.D. 1455*, ed. W.H. Stevenson (Gloucester, 1890).

[12] *V.C.H. Glos.* **4**, 34.

[13] 7 Edw. I, De Viris Religiosis.

[14] Glouc. Cath. Libr., Reg. Frocester B, p. 441 no. 1020.

[15] For Boyfeld's trades, P.R.O. C 115/75, ff. 131, 134–5.

[16] Terrier of Llanthony Priory, ff. 37–8 (35–6) nos. 78–9; ff. 55–6 (53–4) no. 105.

[17] Register of Simon Brockworth, prior of Llanthony 1362–76, P.R.O. C 115/82, f. 29v.

[18] P.R.O. C 115/75, ff. 133–5, where John Yvor's grant can be dated by comparison of witness lists; W.R. Williams, *Parl. Hist. of Glos.* (Hereford, 1898), 182–4. For Ashwell see below, n. 58.

[19] *Cal. Patent Rolls* 1348–50, 554.

illegal ownership and in 1355, without referring to John Yvor, relet part of the tenement in Bull Lane for 6*s* 4*d* a year.[20] In 1363 the grant of 1348 to Thomas of Compton came to light, and the prior was questioned about it before the King's Bench; he replied, untruthfully, that the priory had never received any rent from the properties.[21] At last in 1369, after 20 years' delay, the priory sought a licence to acquire them from John's son Philip Yvor but found that he was disqualified as not holding other property liable for service to the Crown. It therefore prevailed upon two clergy and two burgesses who had represented the borough in Parliament, William Heyberar and John Monmouth, to accept the properties by grant from Yvor and to seek a mortmain licence in their own names. A mortmain inquiry on 5 April found that although the properties at issue were worth 35*s* a year their other properties were worth 100*s* yearly, sufficient for them to perform services due on the properties granted and retained. The mortmain licence was granted on 25 April and they conveyed the grant into the priory's legal ownership on 5 September, the priory paying £6 13*s* 4*d* for the licence.[22]

PRIOR CHIRTON'S EARLY YEARS: ESTRANGEMENT, 1377–88

Such collaboration ceased in 1377 when the priorate passed to William Chirton, probably a son of the priory's estate at Chirton in Wiltshire.[23] Almost from the outset Prior Chirton disputed the borough's jurisdiction. In June 1378 he successfully challenged a perambulation and in October 1378 he persuaded the royal justices to bar the borough coroners from investigating a murder at the priory.[24] Instead of seeking the burgesses' goodwill he sought that of the king's uncle, Thomas of Woodstock earl of Buckingham, who assumed patronage of the priory through marriage in 1374 with Eleanor daughter of Humphrey Bohun.[25] The prior was engaged in the earl's service, for instance, in 1380, 1382–3 and 1392.[26] This policy bore fruit in March 1381 when the earl and the countess secured royal letters patent allowing the prior to reside in England, contrary to a parliamentary ordinance of 1379, while drawing income from his property in Ireland.[27] Four months later, however, it had disastrous consequences. On 13 July 1381 the earl came to Llanthony at the head of 200 soldiers, directly from Essex where he had killed 500 supporters of the Peasants' Revolt. On the 14th he and his countess, his six knights and their squires and pages were admitted into the priory's spiritual fraternity. On the 15th he held an inquiry at Gloucester, attended by the whole town, to detect rebels. On the 16th he arrested five burgesses on a charge of seditious talk, tried

[20] P.R.O. C 115/75, f. 120v. no. 168.

[21] Reg. Brockworth, f. 29v.

[22] P.R.O. C 115/84, ff. 64–6 nos. 171, 173–5, where Philip Yvor's grant can be dated by comparison of witness lists; Reg. Brockworth, f. 23v.; *Cal. Pat.* 1367–70, 238; Williams, *Parl. Hist. of Glos.* 181–2.

[23] *Cal. Pat.* 1374–7, 438; *V.C.H. Wilts.* **10**, 62, 68.

[24] *Reg. Llanthony 1457–1525*, pp. 7–8, 15–16.

[25] *Trans. B.G.A.S.* **63**, 95–6.

[26] Reg. Chirton, ff. 42, 73v., 76, 161v.

[27] Reg. Chirton, ff. 46v., 51–3, 54v.; *Cal. Pat.* 1377–81, 610; cf. *Reg. Llanthony 1457–1525*, p. 84.

them at Llanthony and sentenced them to imprisonment in Gloucester castle. They included Thomas Bisley, who had held the chief magistracy as town bailiff five times between 1367 and 1377, and Thomas Compton (not to be confused with his namesake the priest) who was to hold it four times between 1402 and 1409.[28]

Since this Thomas Compton was in dispute with the priory, the prior was open to suspicion of suborning the earl to ruin him. In transactions of doubtful legality, Compton had acquired by marriage five tenements which had been entailed to the priory, and in 1377–8 had seized from the priory two other properties attached to his residence at the present nos. 17–21 Westgate Street, sometime the Fleece. Temporarily embarrased by his imprisonment, Compton mortgaged the properties in December 1381 but redeemed them in 1386 as a merchant of Gloucester and Bristol, and they never came into the priory's hands. Although Prior Chirton did not pursue the priory's claim his successors did so,[29] and it reflected badly on his part in Compton's imprisonment. Meanwhile other burgesses defied the prior to sue them. In 1383 two tenants-in-fee, John Thornbury and Margaret Hard, withheld rents in the middle of Westgate Street amd elsewhere and obliged him to recover the priory's title under writs of *novel disseisin*. In 1384 William Crook encroached on the priory's land behind nos. 13–15 Northgate Street, obliging him to recover it similarly in 1389.[30]

TRANSLATION OF ST. KYNEBURGH: THE PRIOR'S TRIUMPH, 1388–90

Despite his want of diplomacy and spirituality, Prior Chirton had a talent for business. During his priorate he rebuilt four parochial chancels, four manorial barns, two mills and wings of four manor houses, besides a cloister and a chapel on the priory site.[31] In 1383–4 he provided a shrine for St. Cieran in the priory's parish church of Duleek (Co. Meath). Translating the saint's bones from their humble grave to the new shrine, the bishop of Meath granted 40 days' indulgence to all penitents who visited it on the feast of the translation and said a Lord's Prayer with an Engish salutation.[32] In 1388 the prior determined to provide a similar shrine for the bones of St. Kyneburgh in her chapel at Gloucester.

St. Kyneburgh's chapel lay immediately north-west of the Roman and medieval South Gate, and may have originated as a gate chapel.[33] Modern scholarship identifies her as the Kyneburgh (d. 710) who was abbess of Gloucester from 679, a

[28] *Reg. Llanthony 1457–1525*, pp. 13–14; *Bull. Inst. Hist. Research* **58** (no. 138), 239.

[29] Terrier of Llanthony Priory, ff. 40–2 (38–40); *Berkeley Castle Muniments*, ed. B. Wells-Furby (B.G.A.S. 2004), **1**, pp. 466–7 nos. 32–8; Reg. Chirton f. 209v.

[30] Reg. Chirton, ff. 5, 6v.–7, 82, 102v.; Terrier of Llanthony Priory, ff. 57 (55)v.–59 (57)v. nos. 110–3; f. 61 (59) no. 119; f. 70 (69) no. 130.

[31] *Trans. B.G.A.S.* **63**, 97, translated from Reg. Chirton, ff. 7–8.

[32] Reg. Chirton, f. 106v., cf. ff. 67, 78, 80.

[33] *V.C.H. Glos.* **4**, 11. The Roman gate, for which see H.R. Hurst, *Gloucester: The Roman and Later Defences* (Gloucester, 1986), 6, fig. 2, was on the same site as the medieval gate, for which cf. R. Hall and T. Pinnell, *Plan of the City of Gloucester 1780* (1782) and A.P. Garrod and C. Heighway, *Garrod's Gloucester* (Gloucester, 1984), 54–5. It was not on the site of the medieval chapel as stated by Baker and Holt, *Urban Growth: Gloucester and Worcester*, 65.

reasonable hypothesis if the abbess, like the contemporary bishop at Worcester, then enjoyed the whole city as her precinct.[34] The canons of Llanthony mistook her for Penda's daughter Kyneburgh (d. *c.* 680).[35] A poem composed at Llanthony about 1390 claimed that the young princess took a vow of poverty and came to Gloucester *incognita* as servant to a baker. In the baker's absence his jealous wife killed her and threw the body into a well, later called St. Kyneburgh's well, but a miraculous voice exposed the crime. The baker buried the saint nearby on a spot where St. Kyneburgh's chapel, the scene of miraculous cures, was presently built.[36]

After the Norman conquest the chapel passed into the control of Roger, Walter and Miles, successive sheriffs and castellans of Gloucester, who gave it before 1095 to their adjacent parish church of St. Owen and transferred it in 1137, with the latter church, to Llanthony Priory.[37] In 1147 it was rededicated after rebuilding[38] on an east-west orientation at an acute angle to the town wall (see figure on next page). Its plan[39] is known from records made after its sale in 1543 to Thomas Bell. The site of the chapel proper, described in 1543 as 'void ground on which St. Kinbury's chapel formerly stood',[40] measured 6 m by 12.5 m and was rebuilt by Bell as the core of St. Kyneburgh's Hospital.[41] At the west end was a low tower 6.5 m square which Bell received intact and retained for his own use, describing it in 1566 as *the roome & place where sometymes the belles did hange, comenlie called the steple, the which now is reserved for a dove house.*[42] Although the tower was adapted in 1654 as *one roome of building ... called Cordwainers', Shoemakers' or Cobblers' Hall*, in 1788 as a private tenement of three rooms and in 1824 as a police house, it was still called *an ancient building* when demolished in 1864–6.[43] In 1712–79 there still survived *on the south-west side a raised stone monument whereon lies the effigy of a young lady with a coronet on her head.*[44] The effigy, in a style of *c.*1290, is preserved in the chapel of St. Mary Magdalene at Gloucester and may well be a retrospective image of the saint.[45]

[34] Baker and Holt, *Urban Growth: Gloucester and Worcester*, 107, 128.

[35] Disregarding that Kyneburgh's role as abbess of Castor (Northants.) and her bones at Peterborough (Northants.) and Thorney (Cambs.): *Reg. Llanthony 1457–1525*, p. 20.

[36] *Hist. & Cart. Mon. Glouc.*, ed. W.H. Hart (Rolls Ser.), **1**, pp. lxv–lxvii, from a lectionary for Saints Ciaran, Kyneburgh and others, Brit. Libr. MS. Lansdowne 387.

[37] *Camden Misc.* **22** (Camden 4th ser. **1**), pp. 4, 38; W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (London, 1817–30), **6**, 136.

[38] Brit. Libr. MS. Lansdowne 387, f. 26, cited in *Hist. & Cart, Mon. Glouc* p. lxvii *n.*

[39] In 1962–3 its broad stone foundations were exposed during the building of Kimbrose Way and were left partly undisturbed under a shrubbery: personal observation.

[40] *Letters & Papers Hen. VIII*, **18** (2), p. 52.

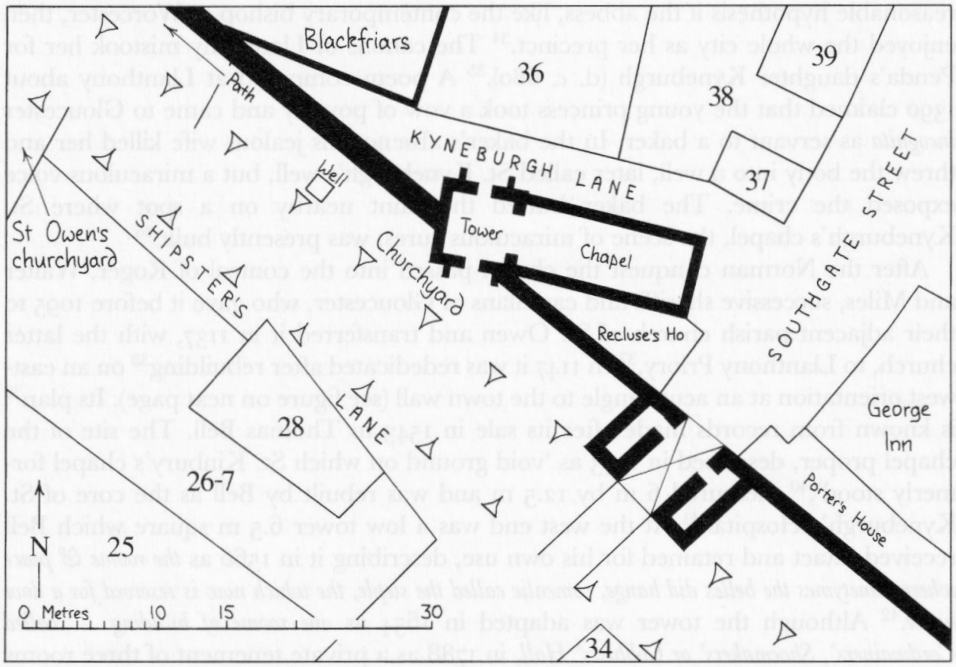
[41] Mapped as nos. 2–5 Kimbrose Lane by the O.S. for the Gloucester Board of Health, Glos. Archives GBR L10/1/2; for the hospital, *V.C.H. Glos.* **4**, 354–5, pl. 54.

[42] Glos. Archives GDR will 1566/150. The term *steple* referred to a central lantern which survived in 1712, perhaps after alteration, over the pitched roof of the tower: R. Atkyns, *Ancient and Present State of Glos.* (1712), pl. 2.

[43] Plans, abstract of title and schedule of deeds, Glos. Archives GBR G3/AG1, AG6. The tower passed directly to the Cordwainers from Bell's successors the Dennises and never belonged to the hospital as stated in *V.C.H. Glos.* **4**, 316, 355.

[44] Atkyns, *Ancient and Present State of Glos.*, 189; S. Rudder, *New History of Glos.* (Cirencester, 1779), 204.

[45] *Trans. B.G.A.S.* **31**, 226–7; photograph in I.M. Roper, *Monumental Effigies of Glos. and Bristol* (Gloucester, 1931), 316–7.



St. Kyneburgh's Chapel and the South Gate, Gloucester, 1390–2. Tenements belonging to Llanthony Priory are numbered as in the priory terrier of 1443 (P.R.O. C 115/73). The survey is based on maps of Gloucester by R. Hall and T. Pinnell, 1780 (published 1782), and the Ordnance Survey, 1851 (for the Gloucester Board of Health, Glos. Archives GBR L10/1/2).

Owing to the orientation of the chapel its tower straddled the line of the town wall, and its south door gave access through the defences. From 1265–7 that access was obstructed by the town ditch[46] and was only passable by scrambling or wading, although the burgesses still objected to it in 1391–2 (see below) and 1456. In 1404–5 the burgesses obstructed it further by building a smooth-faced wall extending from the highway outside the South Gate to Thomas Yonge's house (no. 28 in the figure),[47] i.e. along the far bank. St. Kyneburgh's well and churchyard lay on the near bank, south and west of the chapel.[48]

After 1137 the chapel was not parochial but proprietary,[49] and its only claim to lay worship was the saint's cult. In the 13th century Maud de Bohun gave a rent-charge of 12*d* from Whitminster fulling-mill and Edith Poly gave a plot in Oxbody Lane for lamps there, but the priory remitted the rent, lost the plot and received no further gifts towards it.[50] Hence Prior Chirton's attempt to revive the cult.

[46] *Cal. Inq. Misc.* **1**, p. 115; cf. *Close Rolls* 1264–8, 414.

[47] *Reg. Llanthony 1457–1525*, pp. 19, 23.

[48] Terrier of Llanthony Priory, f. 19 (17)v. no. 35. The western limit of the churchyard (later hospital land) and the line of the town wall were located by deeds in 1640 and 1731: Glos. Archives GBR J3/3, ff. 163–4; GBR G3/AG6, Abstact of title.

[49] It was sold to Bell as property of the priory: *Letters & Papers Hen. VIII*, **18** (2), p. 52.

[50] P.R.O. C 115/77, s. i nos. 46–7; C 115/75, f. 68v. no. 390, copied in C 115/81, f. 87v., C 115/84, f. 123 no. 192; Terrier of Llanthony Priory, f. 72 (71)v.

On 3 February 1388 the prior bought from one John Heed a plot of land at no. 88 Southgate Street, between the chapel and the town wall, on which he shortly built a handsome house (*domum habilem et honestam*) for a recluse to watch the proposed shrine.[51] A chaplain, John Ludlow, expressed a wish to be enclosed there, and on 26 January 1369 the bishop of Worcester asked for him to be examined; on 14 February Ludlow was inducted and enclosed with singing of psalms.[52] Two days earlier the bishop had granted 40 days' indulgence to all penitents who contributed to Ludlow's support or heard mass in the chapel. On 11 December 1389 William Courtenay, archbishop of Canterbury, granted a further 40 days to penitents who worshipped the saint's relics, and commended Prior Chirton's proposal to transfer them from their humble location in the chapel to a more eminent position, initially in the priory church; the archbishop noted that Thomas of Woodstock, by then created duke of Gloucester, supported the project. On 10 April 1390 the bishop of Worcester translated the saint's relics in procession back to the chapel and held solemn mass there. The procession included the duke and duchess of Gloucester, the countess of Derby, the abbot of Gloucester, the prior of St. Oswald, Lord Despenser, Lord and Lady Talbot, Lord Berkeley, Lady Beauchamp, Lady Bromwich, Sir John Eynsford, Sir Thomas de la Barre and Sir William Lucy.[53] The poem on St. Kyneburgh, mentioned above, ended at this point and was evidently written to launch the new shrine. On 6 October 1390 the duke was rewarded for his contribution by a papal offer of remission of sins for himself, his duchess and 20 persons of his choice; if they paid the cost of a pilgrimage to Rome they might enjoy the spiritual benefits without making the journey.[54]

LOSS AND RECOVERY OF THE RECLUSE'S HOUSE: THE PRIOR'S VICTORY, 1390–1

The borough magistrates were not listed as members of the procession. If they boycotted it, the reason became apparent in June 1390 when they persuaded the recluse to leave and seized his house as encroaching on their common property. The ensuing litigation, known as the pleas of St. Kyneburgh (*placita Sancte Kyneburge*), ranked with the shrine itself among the biggest expenses of Chirton's priorate.[55] He had begun to prepare his suit on 30 November 1389, by obtaining certified copies of extracts from the priory's papal bulls of 1158 and 1191 which confirmed in general terms the priory's title to St. Kyneburgh's chapel and what were described as the prebends of St. Owen within the South Gate. On 10 July 1390 he obtained royal letters patent to the same effect, but the royal chancery rendered the confirmation worthless by adding the reservation 'saving all men's rights (*iure cuiusque in omnibus semper salvo*)'. Meanwhile, spokesmen for the prior and the burgesses argued the matter before the duke.[56]

[51] Reg. Chirton, f. 165v.; Terrier of Llanthony Priory, f. 19 (17)v. no. 35.

[52] The examiners were Everard, prior of Gloucester Abbey, and Thomas, sub-prior of Llanthony and dean of Gloucester: Reg. Chirton, f. 132.

[53] Ibid. ff. 132v.–133v., 135.

[54] Ibid. f. 140v.

[55] Ibid. ff. 7v.–8, 141v., 143v.

[56] Ibid. 132v., 136v.–138. The letters patent did not confirm that the priory had held the site of the house from time out of mind as stated in *Cal. Pat.* 1388–92, 285.

On 29 August 1390 the prior obtained a writ of *novel disseisin* requiring the burgesses to answer at an assize. On the same day, however, he interfered with the legal process by procuring a royal letter of protection which called for the restoration of property forfeited by the priory and inhibited royal servants from distraining upon the priory's chattels. Circumventing a statute of 1382, whereby the assize should have been held at Gloucester, he asked the duke to take the opportunity of a joust at Smithfield on 10–12 October 1390 to plead with the king for a special assize outside the town. On 11 December 1390 he also asked the duke to get a friendly justice, Richard Alberbury, included on the bench for the assize. The king agreed to both requests by letters of 28 and 29 December. Finally he asked the duke to plead with the sheriff for a friendly jury; the sheriff prudently chose local gentry headed by Thomas Berkeley of Coberley, Robert Whittington of Pauntley and Anselm Guise of Elmore.[57]

The assize sat at Northleach on 16 January 1391 before Robert Charleton, chief justice of Common Pleas, and two others. The burgesses, represented by Richard Ashwell,[58] pleaded that the site of the recluse's house had not previously been built on and was annexed to the town wall. It belonged to them because they held the borough from the Crown by charters of King John and his successors, at fee farm for rent of £65. As the king was involved the assize could not proceed without a writ *de procedendo*. The justices adjourned the suit until 10 March, and the king issued the necessary writ on 10 February.[59] The prior, on the contrary, pleaded that only part of the borough was royal demesne. The part which included the recluse's house was demesne of the priory and had been so since before King John's time. The court gave its verdict in the prior's favour, and on 7 May 1391 the king ordered the justices to proceed to judgement. On 11 May he ordered the sheriff to see that the prior recovered the house with damages of £50.[60]

Prior Chirton had deceived the court into misinterpreting his demesne lordship or fief in the borough, which was of little consequence in the 14th century, as an ancient title to land by the town wall, which he did not possess. Admittedly, at the turn of the 11th and 12th centuries there were 25 other lords of Gloucester besides the king, including Walter the constable who had 15 houses there.[61] Walter's son Miles had given to Llanthony Priory a part of his fief described as 'the constable's parochial land within the South Gate', approximating to the urban parish of St. Owen around St. Kyneburgh's chapel.[62] But successive kings had made the burgesses responsible throughout the borough for jurisdiction from 1200, for murage from 1226 and for

[57] Reg. Chirton, ff. 137, 138v.–140. For the location of assizes, 6 Ric. II, cap. 5; 11 Ric. II, cap. 11.

[58] d. 1392: Reg. Chirton, f. 162v. Bailiff of Gloucester 1380, 1381, 1390: *V.C.H. Glos.* **4**, 373. Resident in London as churchwarden of St. Saviour without Newgate: *Inquisitiones post mortem* 1377–1413 (Rec. Com.), 158.

[59] Reg. Chirton, ff. 140v., 141v., 143v., 144v.; *Cal. Close Rolls* 1389–92, 249–50; for Charleton, *Cal. Pat.* 1388–92, *passim*.

[60] Reg. Chirton, ff. 144, 145v.–146; *Cal. Close* 1389–92, 264.

[61] *Rental of Glouc. 1455*, p. xiv. The royal fief (from which the burgesses collected landgavel) did not extend nearer than nos. 43 and 66 Southgate Street: ibid. 12b, 14.

[62] Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* **6**, 136. For St. Owen's church and parish, *V.C.H. Glos.* **4**, 310; map in Glos. Archives, GBR L10/1/2.

pavage from 1335.[63] Land annexed to the town wall, which intersected the parish, could rightly be claimed as theirs.

MUTUAL ALLEGATIONS OF NEGLECT AND VIOLENCE: STALEMATE, 1391

In February 1391 the burgesses widened the dispute by sending a bill of complaint to the marshal of the Marshalsea. In contempt of the king, they alleged, Prior Chirton had neglected his duty to repair a bridge carrying the Bristol road over the Sudbrook, thus obstructing and delaying the carriages of the king and his faithful subjects to the grave harm of the whole county. Moreover for the past 30 years he and his predecessors had used the south door of St. Kyneburgh's chapel to steal into the town by day and night. They had opened the door to thieves and fugitives, and in an emergency it might cause the town to be lost.[64]

The prior responded on 8 March 1391 with a writ *ad quod damnum* containing the allegation of violence which was mentioned at the beginning of this article. Its basis was that in 1377, when the French invaded the Isle of Wight, the burgesses widened the south ditch of the town near the Blackfriars by 12 ft (3.6 m). Opposite Gloucester Castle they encroached on the prior's garden; at St. Kyneburgh's chapel, where Shipster's Lane occupied the far bank (see figure), they encroached on the chapel yard. Prior Chirton, then in his first year of office, met the town bailiffs on site; they settled the matter amicably by promising to return the elm and ash trees which they had felled. But now, by a gross distortion, he claimed that the burgesses had broken his fence, thrown down a stone wall, carried off his trees and soil to a value of £50 and insulted and wounded his servants. The writ, dated 8 March 1391, was served on the bailiffs of 1377 (John Compton and Robert Pope), the bailiffs of 1391 (Richard Ashwell and William Crook) and the community at large. It was reissued on 7 July, 16 and 20 October and 16 November, without apparent result.[65]

On 20 March 1391 the burgesses countered with two further writs, one of which came before the justices in Trinity term. They alleged that twenty years earlier, in 1371, Chirton and three others from the priory (Robert Cerney, Reginald Dyer and Thomas Brockworth), armed with bows, arrows and swords, had broken into the homes of John Compton and Richard Ashwell and carried off goods to the value of £100 from each house. The burglary from Richard Ashwell's house, on 6 February 1371, consisted of timber, stone, 4,000 tiles, 20 fotmals (1,400 lb or 635 kg) of lead and four pieces of silver. The prior's attorney did not defend the suit but claimed that it was out of time. By a third writ, on 12 April 1391, Ashwell alleged that Chirton, Cerney, Dyer and Brockworth had disseised him of a freehold tenement in the

[63] *V.C.H. Glos.* **4**, 29–30, 244; W.H. Stevenson, *Cal. Records of the Corporation of Gloucester* (Gloucester, 1893), pp. 50–2.

[64] Reg. Chirton, f. 144v.

[65] *Reg. Llanthony 1457–1525*, p. 15; Reg. Chirton, ff. 145, 152–5, 159. Although much of Shipster's Lane was lost to the ditch in the 1260s, a length leading to St. Owen's churchyard was closed and let for rent before 1443: Terrier of Llanthony Priory, ff. 14–15 (12–13) nos. 27–8; cf. Glos. Archives GBR J5/3.

suburbs.[66] If the alleged acts had a factual basis they were probably heavy-handed distraints executed by the canons on behalf of Simon Brockworth, the prior in 1371. Be that as it may, both sides suspended such vexatious suits before January 1392.[67]

FORFEITURE AND DEMOLITION OF THE RECLUSE'S HOUSE: THE PRIOR'S DEFEAT, 1391–2

On 8 and 9 March 1391, while the prior's writ *ad quod damnum* was issuing from the Chancery, the burgesses gained the upper hand by persuading the royal escheator to hold a mortmain inquiry in the town. Prior Chirton was vulnerable to such an inquiry because he had petitioned unsuccessfully in 1384, through the duke of Gloucester, for a mortmain licence covering acquisitions to the value of £20. Now twelve burgesses, duly sworn, testified that he had failed to obtain a licence for acquiring the site of the recluse's house from John Heed in 1388. Moreover the priory had made five other unlicensed acquisitions over the previous 81 years: no. 63 Southgate Street in 1309–10, a house in Kyneburgh Lane on the south side of the town wall in 1321–2, no. 28 Southgate Street in 1323–4, nos. 55–7 Southgate Street in 1384–5 and no. 80 Southgate Street in 1385–6. Two other properties had been acquired without licence by the prior's nominees: nos. 118–24 Southgate Street in 1378–9 by his bondman John Keche and a tenement by All Saints' church in 1386–7 (*recte* 1388) by Walter Wheeler of Hempsted. By statute, all were forfeited to the king.[68]

On 16 June 1391 Prior Chirton tried to overturn this finding by obtaining a writ which ordered the chief justice and two others to investigate whether the burgesses had bribed the escheator. On 26 June the king forbade the latter to intermeddle in the affair and committed the eight properties to the keeping of the prior, Wheeler and Keche; the keepers were to account for the profits in case the forfeiture was confirmed.[69] An inquiry into the site of the recluse's house, with a jury of county gentry, sat on 29 July under the writ of 16 June. A second inquiry into the priory's other five acquisitions, with a similar jury headed by Sir Thomas FitzNicholas of Filton, Hill and Nympsfield, sat at Michaelmas under a writ of 20 October. Thereafter both inquiries sat in tandem at Hilary under writs of 28 November and on 4 March 1392 under writs of 30 January.[70] The obstacle to progress was probably a conflict between the prior's evidence and that of the burgesses which was resolved at a loveday (*dies pacis*) on 10 January 1392 when they set out their mutual grievances as follows.[71]

[66] The attorneys were Philip Hannyle for Ashwell and John Dymock for the prior: Reg. Chirton, ff. 145v., 151. For fotmals, *Oxford Eng. Dictionary*.

[67] Ibid. f. 159v.

[68] Reg. Chirton, ff. 90v. (with table of contents *ad loc.*), 153v.–154, 156–7, 165; Terrier of Llanthony Priory, f. 10 (8) no. 16; f. 19 (17)v. no. 35; ff. 21–2 (19–20) nos. 39–41; f. 26 (24) no. 50; f. 30 (28)v. no. 61; 7 Edw. I, De Viris Religiosis. For the corrected date, P.R.O. CP 25/1/78/81/79. Postal addresses are cited as on O.S. maps SO 8218, 8318 (1955 and later edns.).

[69] Reg. Chirton, ff. 151–152v.; *Cal. Pat.* 1388–92, 444; *Cal. Fine Rolls* 1391–9, 1.

[70] Reg. Chirton, ff. 151, 153v., 155–7, 163v.; for FitzNicholas, Rudder, *New History of Glos.*, 448, 499, 576.

[71] In full translation from the Norman French of Reg. Chirton, f. 159.

Grievances of the prior

1. John Wattes, William Porter, William Mulleward, Thomas Dyar and others are using putchers (*puchons*) in the Severn such as were never seen until three years ago, to the prejudice of the prior's weirs.[72]
2. John Bonde, Richard Houlet, William Hobbes and other bondman tenants of the prior in Hempsted and elsewhere have been made to pay toll and pavage contrary to the prior's royal charter.[73]
3. Gloucester people have maliciously sought an inquiry before the escheator whereby the prior's tenements and shops were wrongly seized into the king's hand at a loss to the prior of 400 marks.
4. Although the prior was and is a chief burgess of Gloucester and ought above all to be allowed the purchase of meat and fish there, the bailiffs and commons have often delayed and frustrated his buyer when he has tried to procure victuals, in insult to the prior and prejudice to his liberty.
5. When the prior recovered damages of £50 from the bailiffs and commons by legal process for their malicious wrongdoing, his tenants in Gloucester were wrongly made to contribute disproportionately to the £50.
6. The prior's adversaries in Gloucester have maliciously and disgracefully indicted his servants Jankin Prester and Robert Porter in matters for which they cannot be culpable.
7. Gloucester people have maliciously withdrawn scholars from the prior's schools and sent them to schools where by right none should exist,[74] to his great prejudice.
8. Laurence Flesshewer and other Gloucester people have entered the prior's free warren at *Windmulle Hul*,[75] taken coneys and done other damage in insult to him and prejudice to his liberty.
9. When the prior's kitchener wanted to buy timber in Gloucester he was maliciously wronged by William Crook and others.
10. The bailiffs and commons wrongly dug and removed soil from a garden belonging to the prior under the castle, to enlarge the ditch under the town wall, and disposed of trees growing there to the prior's harm.
11. The town sergeants have often carried their maces (*claves*) within Llanthony Priory where none ought to be carried, in prejudice of its liberty.
12. The bailiffs and commons daily encroach on and wrongfully usurp the rights of the prior and convent, to their discomfort and harm and the prejudice of their liberty.

Grievances of the burgesses

1. After the prior had agreed with them to suspend mutual pleas in the royal courts, he made them demand and lose dues of 27*s*.

[72] Still at issue in 1414: P.R.O. C 115/76 (Reg. Wyche), f. 76v.

[73] A charter of Hen. II dated at Brewood (Staffs.): P.R.O. C 115/75, f. 230 no. 12.

[74] Rival schools opened *c.*1380 under the patronage of St. Oswald's Priory: Nicholas Orme, *Education in the West of England 1066–1548* (Exeter, 1976), 60–1.

[75] At Wotton-by-Gloucester: *V.C.H. Glos.* **4**, 408.

2. The prior has usurped a new court at St. Owen in Gloucester[76] and causes the burgesses of the town to make suit there to the harm of their liberty.
3. The prior takes the produce of trees growing on their soil in *Sevarn Stret* and the *Barbekan.*
4. The prior has encroached on their common way to St. Owen's church by erecting a wall.
5. The prior has an open doorway (*un hux ouvert*) at St. Kyneburgh's chapel by which many people pass and deprive them of toll and other customs, a place where none ought to pass except by the common gate of the town.
6. The prior and his servants have made a new path (*une chemyn fait de novel*) for coming and going under the town wall by St. Kyneburgh's chapel, to the great damage of the wall if it is allowed to remain.[77]

On 4 March 1392 the two inquiries found that the site of the recluse's house and the other five properties had belonged to the priory in the time of Prior John Hempsted (*c.*1218–41), before the Statute of Mortmain was enacted. The king ordered his escheator to restore them to the prior accordingly by two writs of 20 May. A third inquiry sat before the chief justice on 6 June 1392, under writs of 9 and 28 May, to investigate the properties forfeited by Wheeler and Keche; judgement was given by the King's Bench at Nottingham on 10 July that they should be restored likewise. Finally on 6 July and 15 October 1392 the king ordered Wheeler, Keche and the prior to render accounts of their keepership for the period of forfeiture.[78]

The point at issue was clearest for the properties of Wheeler and Keche. Keche's property, at nos. 118–24 Southgate Street, was probably among the prebends of St. Owen granted to the priory in 1137, but the priory had sold it in 1286 to tenants-in-fee for a perpetual rent of 13*s* 4*d*. In 1378–9 (or, by another account, in 1384–5) the priory redeemed the freehold in order to relet it to tenants-at-will at an increased rent of 16*s*, hiding behind Keche as nominee in default of a mortmain licence for the redemption.[79] Wheeler's property, by All Saints' church, was originally acquired by the priory in the years 1228–40 and resold immediately for a perpetual rent of 14*s*; in 1388 the priory redeemed the freehold similarly, without a licence, in Wheeler's name.[80] The burgesses assumed that the six other transactions which they reported to the escheator were also unlicensed redemptions, but at no. 28 Southgate Street the priory's rentals proved that tenants-at-will and tenants-at-term had succeeded each other throughout the 13th and 14th centuries,[81] and elsewhere the inquiry gave the prior the benefit of the doubt.

[76] Originally a court for tenants of the prior's fief only, discontinued *c.*1298 and revived *c.*1340 as a court for all the priory's burgess tenants: Ann Geddes, 'The Priory of Llanthony by Gloucester', 331–6, 397.

[77] Probably running W. to the priory's pasture at the Barbican, for which see *Valor Ecclesiasticus* (Rec. Com.) **2**, 430.

[78] Reg. Chirton, ff. 160–2, 163v., 165.

[79] Terrier of Llanthony Priory, f. 10 (8) no. 16; P.R.O. C 115/75, f. 82, copied in C 115/81, f. 10, C 115/84, f. 5 no. 16; for the prebends of St. Owen, Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* **6**, 136.

[80] Terrier of Llanthony Priory, f. 26 (24) no. 50; P.R.O. C 115/75, ff. 45v. (no. 256), 96, copied in C 115/81, ff. 6, 24, C 115/84, ff. 36–7 nos. 111, 114; ibid. CP 25/1/78/81/79.

[81] Terrier of Llanthony Priory, f. 30 (28)v. no. 61.

Prior Chirton's tactical victory was a strategic defeat. Admittedly, he was to regain Wheeler's property under a mortmain licence of 1394,[82] but his subsequent attempt to treat Keche as a tenant-at-will was short-lived; Keche's successor, Roger Anger, claimed the freehold of nos. 118–24 Southgate Street at the ancient rent of 13*s* 4*d*, and the priory never redeemed it. Above all, Prior Chirton's extravagant and ill-managed promotion of St. Kyneburgh's cult had stimulated the laity not to pious generosity but to dangerous hostility. He demolished the recluse's house, except for the kitchen, and in 1443 a stone cross on steps stood there.[83]

The site of the house remained otherwise vacant until *c.*1559 when Sir Thomas Bell used it to build a fifth chamber of St. Kyneburgh's Hospital. Land adjacent to the north, under the east wall of the chapel, was also vacant until 1553 when Bell rented it from the borough in order to build a sixth chamber. The east fronts of both chambers were set back to widen Southgate Street under an Act of 1781, but retained their Tudor appearance until the hospital was demolished in the 1860s.[84]

FROM PRIOR CHIRTON TO PRIOR SCHOYER: STRAINED RELATIONS, 1392–1467

For many decades after 1392 the priory and the burgesses confronted each other at law. In 1392–3, after the parishioners of St. Owen had improved the rental value of nos. 110–14 Southgate Street from 4*s* to 26*s* and sublet the property in aid of church funds, Prior Chirton took advantage of an irregularity to dispossess them at a seigneurial court in their own church.[85] In 1410 his successor,[86] John Wyche, began a long dispute with the parishioners of St. Michael over the environs of the west tower of their church, as discussed elsewhere in this volume. Of the five flanking tenements which the parishioners had to rebuild in order to sink the foundations of the tower, two already belonged to friendly parties and a third to Hailes Abbey, which agreed to sell; the fourth and fifth belonged to Llanthony Priory, which refused to co-operate and sued for loss of rent. Although the proposed tower was not mentioned in court it is possible that the justices were aware of it and allowed the suit to be prolonged for seven years while the foundations were put in place. Prior Wyche opened proceedings with successive writs of *cessavit per biennium* in 1410 aganst John Aldbourne, of *novel disseisin* in 1411 against John Bisley the younger and of *cessavit per biennium* in 1413 against William Sherston. Having ignored the summons at Hilary and Trinity 1414, Sherston appeared at Michaelmas 1414 and denied the prior's title, causing an adjournment to Easter 1415. He was again absent at Hilary and Trinity 1416, when the justices

[82] Through Robert More, clerk: Terrier of Llanthony Priory, f. 26 (24)v. no. 50; *Cal. Pat.* 1391–6, 416.

[83] Terrier of Llanthony Priory, f. 10 (8) no. 16; f. 19 (17)v. no. 35.

[84] *V.C.H. Glos.* **4**, 354–5, pl. 54; 21 Geo. III, cap. 74. The borough's land measured 28 ft 6 in (8.7 m) on the E, 1 ft (0.3 m) on the S and 16 ft 6 in (5 m) on the N: Glos. Archives GBR B2/2, f. 96v. For plans of the hospital before and after the street was widened, showing the 5th and 6th chambers as nos. 45 Southgate Street and 1 Kimbrose Lane, see ibid. GBR G3/AG1; GBR L10/1/2; R. Hall and T. Pinnell, *Plan of Gloucester* (1780).

[85] Terrier of Llanthony Priory, f. 11 (9)v. no. 19.

[86] After the brief priorate of John Lymnor (1401–8): *Trans. B.G.A.S.* **63**, 108.

suspended judgement in case the suit were collusive. At Hilary 1417 they asked the prior to prove a continuous title from the time of Henry III to date; he did so and obtained judgement at Easter 1417.[87]

On 25 January 1415, too soon for this transaction, the prior had obtained a retrospective royal pardon for breaches of the Statute of Mortmain. His successors were to obtain similar pardons before 1443 and in 1509.[88]

In 1418 Prior Wyche began another long suit over a complex of four tenements behind nos. 92–100 Westgate Street known as Ashwell's Place. In a writ of escheat against the executors of the late tenant-in-fee Thomas Ashwell (d. 1414), he claimed that the property had reverted to the priory and could not be used to endow Ashwell's chantry in St. Nicholas. The executors evaded the writ by conveying the property through feoffees to proctors. The prior responded on 22 February 1419 with a writ of entry which was served on all parties and had to be re-issued on 25 January and 26 June 1420 owing to deaths among the defendants. After adjournments at Michaelmas 1420 and Hilary 1421 and a mortmain inquiry on 24–5 July, the prior took possession on 10 December 1421 under a writ of 3 November.[89] Meanwhile in 1417 the priory's canon renter had pursued a dispute with the proctors of St. Mary de Grace over a shop in the middle of Westgate Street by distraining on the mercery stock of the disputed tenant John Kirkby. In 1429 the renter pursued another dispute with the proctors of St. Nicholas over no. 113 Westgate Street by distraining on bows and arrows of the disputed tenant Henry Hemming, a fletcher.[90] The next prior, John Garland (1436–57), obtained writs of *cessavit per biennium* against Thomas Stevens to repossess nos 28 Westgate Street and 16–18 Southgate Street,[91] and in 1456 resumed the dispute over jurisdiction, leading to another loveday. In 1466, when canons of Llanthony invited the burgesses to attack the bodyguards of their unpopular prior John Schoyer, the resulting skirmish was so violent that it was uncertain whether men were killed.[92]

PRIOR DEANE: RECONCILIATION, 1467–1501

Henry Deane, who became prior of Llanthony amid unprecedented tumult, was later to pacify Ireland as chancellor in 1494–6 and to make peace with Scotland as royal envoy in 1502.[93] His talents as a conciliator can also be seen in his dealings with the burgesses. In 1481–2 his canon renter repossessed a tenement at the corner of Southgate Street and Gooseditch Lane (now Parliament Street), increasing the rent from 2*s* to 13*s* 4*d*, not by litigation but by mutual agreement.[94] In 1497, when

[87] Register of John Wyche, prior of Llanthony 1408–36, `P.R.O. C 115/76, ff. 15, 20, 75, 104; table of contents *ad loc.*; Terrier of Llanthony Priory, ff. 26–7 (24–5).

[88] Reg. Wyche, f. 77v.; Terrier of Llanthony Priory, f. 58 (56) no. 113; *Letters & Papers Hen. VIII*, **1**, p. 226.

[89] Reg. Wyche, ff. 144–8; Terrier of Llanthony Priory, f. 54 (52).

[90] Terrier of Llanthony Priory, f. 52 (50) no. 101; f. 58 (56) no. 111.

[91] Ibid. f. 59 (57)v. no. 116; *Rental of Glouc. 1455*, 6.

[92] *Reg. Llanthony 1457–1525*, pp. xvi–xviii, 4–25.

[93] *Dict. Nat. Biography*.

[94] Terrier of Llanthony Priory, f. 16 (14) no. 30.

Gloucester Abbey offended the burgesses by constructing a building in the middle of Westgate Street which resembled a town hall, Deane as arbiter obliged the abbot to surrender the most valuable room in the building for the burgesses' use.[95] In later life he fostered goodwill by binding the priory to give alms of £14 13*s* 4*d* on each anniversary of his death.[96] Goodwill was still evident in 1513 when the burgesses appointed Deane's successor, Prior Forest, to arbitrate in another dispute with the abbey.[97]

Thus the pleas of St. Kyneburgh were the climax of an estrangement between the priory and the burgesses which lasted from 1377 to 1467. As Ann Geddes concluded:

> The canons largely seem to have been the aggressors against the townspeople, and initially suffered only in the burgesses' denial of their attempted innovations … With insult having been added to injury, hostility towards the priory developed among the townspeople, and ultimately erupted in a spate of litigation.[98]

[95] Glos. Archives GBR B8/5; illus. in *V.C.H. Glos.* **4**, pl. 36.
[96] *Valor Ecclesiasticus* (Rec. Com.), **2**, 430.
[97] *Hist. & Cart. Mon. Glouc.* (Rolls Ser.), **3**, pp. xlv–xlvii.
[98] 'The Priory of Llanthony by Gloucester', 407, 409.

V

Tenants of the Lordship of Berkeley in the Late Middle Ages

BRIDGET WELLS-FURBY

IT WAS in large measure due to the initiative, persistence and enthusiasm of David Smith, fully supported by Mr Berkeley himself, that the enormous medieval archive at Berkeley Castle is now, for the first time, fully conserved and accessible to scholars, catalogued, and available for use in microfilm form. The importance of this archive can hardly be exaggerated: nearly five thousand charters and over seven hundred manorial account rolls, court rolls, rentals, and other miscellaneous documents from the period up to 1492. It is one the largest medieval archives still in private hands. While much of the material is concerned with estates which came to the Berkeley lords towards the latter part of that period two-thirds of it is concerned with the estate of the Berkeley family itself. The importance of this lies not only in its size but also in the fact that this is a lay estate. Medieval archives of comparable size are almost exclusively ecclesiastical, the Berkeleys being one of very few lay families to challenge these undying corporations in longevity, and in this respect it is rivalled only by those at Arundel Castle and those of the duchies of Cornwall and Lancaster in the National Archives. Nearly three-quarters of the purely Berkeley material is concerned with the lordship of Berkeley itself and, while the lack of court rolls is a serious weakness, there is a cornucopia of material in the charters and manorial account rolls for scholars and enthusiasts of all areas of enquiry. It is intended here to give a taste of the richness of the archive by looking briefly at a few of the individuals who were tenants of the Berkeley lordship itself.

The lordship was unusually compact but its tenurial structure was complex. During the late middle ages the area of land which the lords exploited directly through their demesne manors of Ham, Appleridge, Alkington, Hinton, Hurst, Slimbridge, Cam, Coaley, Wotton, and Symond's Hall, was only a small proportion of the whole. At the combined manor of Ham-with-Appleridge *c.* 1320, the demesne arable and meadow amounted to a little less than 750 acres while the land leased to tenants was at the very least a little over 3,000 acres.[1] Much of this land was held in hereditary tenure at rents which were unchanged since the lease had first been made, often as long as two hundred years previously, and which by *c.* 1300, when population pressure had caused rents to rise, had become hopelessly unrealistic. As a result there were tenants like John de Sanigre who held 230 acres of land and meadow in three separate tenancies: 60 acres of land and meadow for a rent of 6*d.*, one bushel of wheat and a pair of gloves (or 1*d.*), 120 acres of land and meadow at 12*s.* a year, and a further fifty acres of land

[1] The only evidence of the actual acreage in the hands of tenants is the extent of the manor made in 1322 and this is inaccurate: PRO SC12/36/11.

at 24*s*., while current leases were usually made at a minimum of 12*d*. per acre. Sanigre was paying less than £2 a year for his 230 acres of land which, at current rents, could have been leased by the lord at something approaching £12 a year. Although there is little evidence of how Sanigre utilised all this land, it is unlikely that he cultivated it all himself and his predecessors had probably leased some portions to tenants of their own, and these tenants may also have sublet further portions.[2] This situation was repeated all over the lordship and, as a result, the number of 'head tenants', i.e. those who held land directly of the lords, bore no relation to the number of households or individual tenancies and the tenurial structure was of incredible complexity. Thomas (II) Lord Berkeley, who was lord from 1281 to 1321, tackled the problem of the comparatively low returns from the land held by tenants by effectively entering the peasant land market and recovering as much as he could for the purpose of re-leasing it at the current competitive rents.[3] Each purchase came with its own 'parchment trail' of deeds recording the activities of the tenant and his predecessors in connection with the land involved and consequently the archive provides plentiful evidence of the peasant land market and, in many instances, of peasant families. One such family is that of the Averays.

The earliest identifiable member was Alured or Alfred le Shipward, *alias* le Mariner and it may perhaps be assumed that he invested the profits of his maritime activity in land within the manor of Ham. He had a son Richard who was known as Richard le Shipward, Richard son of Alfred, Richard Alfred, and finally Richard Averay, and had three sons, Robert, Richard, and John.[4] By 1301 John was being supported at the Wotton school by Thomas (II) Lord Berkeley and later went into the service of the family, serving as wardrober and chamberlain to Thomas (III).[5] At first he held two plots of land in Berkeleywood from his brother Robert but had surrendered these to him by September 1313 at which time he acquired a burgage, possibly two, in Hawe Street in Wotton and he appears as a witness to Wotton charters between 1320 and 1341.[6] Robert's sad history, pitilessly recorded in a series of charters, is one of the gradual disintegration of his small estate which comprised at least 66½ acres of land and 9½ acres of meadow. His capital messuage lay just to the south of the 'old town' of Berkeley, adjacent to the quay on the Doverley and the bridge over it by which the

[2] A mid-14th century charter records land leased by John de Sanigre: *A Catalogue of the Medieval Muniments at Berkeley Castle*, ed. Bridget Wells-Furby, *BGAS*, 2004, (henceforward BCM) A1/24/298.

[3] The individual holder of the land was free to sell it, reserving either a purely nominal rent or provided the original nominal rent continued to be paid to the immediate superior.

[4] The change of name is evident from the fact that Robert Averay was the grandson of Alured le Shipward, that Richard le Shipward was Alured's son and heir, and the changing designation of the capital messuage: BCM A1/24/21, 275. The street which ran from Lockfast Bridge to this messuage is mentioned occasionally in charters of the borough of Berkeley: the messuage occurs first as that of Alured le Shipward, then as that of Richard le Shipward, then as that of Richard Averay: BCM A1/12/159, 12/74, 92, 200, 204.

[5] BCM A1/1/75.

[6] BCM A1/50/117, 134–7, 206, 53/3.

road from Ham entered the borough through a gate near the Castle.[7] The messuage was extensive as it included a yard surrounded by a wall in which were probably at least two gates with locks and in which lay a grange, waggon-shed, and a byre, a 'croft' which included a small pasture of 1/4 acre, one plot of five selions, and three other 'plots' of land which were enclosed by hedges with adjacent ditches in which grew willows and other trees and could be accessed only through the yard. One of the plots lay beside the Doverley and *la Sleche*, another lay next to the byre and extended from the wall beside the byre door to a ditch and to the lower gate, and the third between the road and the curtillage. The five-selion plot was accessed at *la Sleche* beyond the pasture which lay next to the Doverley.[8] The quay on the Doverley at the bridge, which provided the lords with their small income from wharfage, was called 'Averays stock' from the adjacent tenancy.[9] The land lay in the fields called Dolefield, Berkeleywood and Oakhunger to the north of the borough, and the meadow in Perham and Holmead. The surviving charters and other material are unlikely to comprehend all of the Averay holding but nevertheless are extensive.

Robert began by taking advantage of the fact that his capital messuage lay so close to the 'old town' of Berkeley and in September and November 1305 leased two plots of land, one to Edward de Framilode and his wife and son, and one to Thomas le Hooper and his wife and son, for their lives, in each case for an unspecified sum of money and a rent of 2*s*. a year.[10] The Hooper lease specified that the lease included the trees on the land and that within two years Hooper would build a house on the plot which Robert would roof, and it is likely that the Framilode lease was for the same purpose. These leases had been made at what were probably realistic rents but are perhaps the first sign of trouble. In 1310 Robert began making leases at purely nominal rents in exchange for sums of money which are unspecified. In March and April 1310 he alienated his meadow in Holmead, granting all that near Holmeads Poll to Henry le Gardener and his wife for their lives, for a sum of money and a rent of a rose a year, and that in Yonder Holmead to Edward and Edith de Framilode, for their lives, at a penny a year.[11] A year later, in February 1311, he granted the land in Yonder Berkeleywood which Agnes le Shipward, presumably his

[7] John Smyth of Nibley *The Berkeley Manuscripts. A Description of the Hundred of Berkeley*, ed. Sir John Maclean, *BGAS* iii., 1885 (henceforward Smyth), 85. The topographical details are deduced from the facts that: the street from Lockfast Bridge to the Averay messuage is later defined as that from Lockfast Bridge to the borough gate or to the marketplace; that the Averay messuage was adjacent to the quay on, and the bridge over, the Doverley; and that the present road from Ham crosses, first, the Little Avon and then the Doverley and finally enters the town near the castle: BCM A1/12/1, 12/201, 24/244, 64/11, Smyth iii. 85. Lockfast Bridge led into the town from Ham 'over the further water', presumably the Little Avon which is further from the town than the Doverley: Smyth iii. 82. It is likely that the Doverley was also known as 'the near water' as there is one reference to the Averay messuage lying close to *la Hyderhe*, i.e. the 'hither ee' or 'the near water': BCM A1/43/77. This charter was indentified as being in Slimbridge in the published catalogue, wrongly, it would appear.

[8] See below.

[9] Smyth iii. 85.

[10] BCM 12/220, 24/33. The Framilode plot was said to lie between Edward's holding and Hooper's holding and the Hooper lease may, in fact, have been made before the Framilode lease.

[11] BCM A1/24/206–7.

mother or grandmother, had held in dower amounting to three selions, three butts, and a parcel of pasture, to John the Miller, for his life, for a cash sum, and his need of cash is explicitly stated in November 1312 when he mortgaged all his meadow in Bulwick to Hugh de Coston and his wife Alice for four marks.[12] If he failed to repay the four marks at the following Michaelmas the charter would stand but he may have managed to make this repayment and recover the land as in December 1315 he leased all his meadow in Bulwick to the Costons and their sons, for their lives, for a rose rent.[13] The repayment may have been achieved by alienating land in Berkeleywood as there are two charters of 29th September 1313, i.e. the Michaelmas Day on which he was to repay the four marks to Coston, granting two plots of land in Berkeleywood which his brother John had formerly held of him, to John Abbot.[14] One specified that the land was granted to Abbot for his life at 12*d.* a year and one that the land was granted to Abbot and Helen, daughter of John de Portishead, for their lives, at a rose rent. In January 1318 the same two plots were granted again, this time to Abbot and his daughter Maud, at 6*d.* a year.[15] In February 1320 Averay granted to Thomas (II) the reversion of the two plots and in the meantime the rents of a rose a year from Abbot while he lived and after his death 6*d.* a year from Maud.[16]

Recovery of the meadow in Bulwick apparently required other sacrifices as another three alienations followed in November 1313. On the 13th he granted one acre of land in Berkeleywood to John Abbot, for life at a rose rent, on the 22nd seven selions in Westfield to John le Cupper, his wife Isabel, and son John, for their lives at a rose rent, and he was still not free of the Costons as on the 19th he mortgaged one acre of land in Dolefield to Hugh for 20*s.*, to be repaid at the following Michaelmas.[17] This was followed in April 1314 by an outright grant of two acres in Dolefield to Hugh and Alice de Coston, for their lives at a rose rent, the reversion of which was granted to Thomas (II) in November 1318, and in June 1314 Averay granted to Thomas (II) the reversion of the Hoopers holding and in the meantime their rent of 2*s.*[18]

There was then a slight pause before two more major alienations in March 1315. On 5th March he granted to John the Miller, his wife Joan, and son John, thirty-one selions of land in Berkeleywood, five selions of land in Oakhunger, and half an acre of meadow in Holmead, for their lives, at a rent of 10*d.* a year for the life of the elder John and after his death 12*d.* a year from Joan and the younger John.[19] On 10th March he granted six selions in Dolefield to Edward de Framilode and his wife Edith for their lives and on 23rd March ten acres in Dolefield, for their lives, at a rent of 3*d.* a year and this rent probably covered the other grant of six selions as the sum specified as rent in the first

[12] BCM A1/24/35, 65/8.

[13] BCM A1/65/9. This meadow was probably of one acre as in 1348 Hugh Coston's son Thomas leased one acre of meadow in Bulwick, for *his* life, to John le Hert for 30*s.* which was to be repaid in four years' time: BCM A1/65/10.

[14] BCM A1/24/25–6.

[15] BCM A1/24/27.

[16] BCM A1/24/30.

[17] BCM A1/24/29, 194, 65/20.

[18] BCM A1/24/18, 21, 34.

[19] BCM A1/24/36. The land is specified as fifteen selions in Yonder Berkeleywood, thirteen selions in Little Berkeleywood, and another three selions in Little Berkeleywood, but this may not be the same three selions as Miller had taken in 1311 as this was specified as being in Yonder Berkeleywood.

charter has been cut out.[20] On another occasion, but by an undated charter, Robert had granted three acres of land in Dolefield and three-quarters of an acre of meadow in Bulwick to the Framilodes, for their lives.[21] In December 1315 came the alienation of his remaining meadow in Bulwick to the Costons, then in December 1316 the alienation of three acres of meadow in Wynemead to Thomas le Seriaunt at 1*d.* a year.[22] The magnitude of these alienations can be appreciated if it is borne in mind that at this time meadow was being leased at four shillings per acre or more. Another acre of land in Berkeleywood was alienated in November 1317 to William Page and his wife Isabel, for their lives, at a halfpenny a year.[23]

Until this point all the alienations, although they owed only rose rents or the rent which was owed to the chief lord, had at least been temporary in the sense that they were made only for the lives of the grantees and sometimes also of their sons. A new phase began in November 1318 when Averay started alienating the reversion of the lands concerned. In November 1318 he granted to Thomas (II) the reversion of the plot and 13½ acres of land in Dolefield held by Edward and Edith de Framilode for their lives, and in the meantime the rents of 2*s.* and 3*d.* respectively, which had been leased to them in 1305 and 1315, as well as the rent of 22*d.* a year owed by Edward for a messuage and enclosure which Edward's father Ralph had been granted by Robert's grandfather Alured le Shipward in fee, and the reversion of the two acres in Dolefield held by the Costons, and an additional six and a half acres in Dolefield.[24] In the following month Averay granted the reversion of the meadow in Wynemed, and in the meantime the nominal penny rent paid by Thomas le Seriaunt, to John le Seriaunt and his son John and the latter's heirs, although Thomas (II) appears to have acquired the reversion.[25] In February 1320 Averay granted to Thomas the reversion of the two plots in Berkeleywood held by John Abbot and his daughter Maud and the seven selions in Westfield held by John le Cupper and his son, and in November 1320 the reversion of the land in Berkeleywood and Oakhunger and the meadow in Holmead leased to John the Miller and his son in 1315 and also the one acre of land in Berkeleywood leased to William Page and his wife in 1317.[26]

The third phase, the alienation of parts of the capital messuage, began in May 1322 when Averay granted his pasture there to Richard ate Slo, his wife and son, for their lives, for a sum of money and a rose rent.[27] A year later the plot of five selions within the croft was granted to Richard Reynolds *alias* Payn and his wife, for their lives, for which they were to pay the customary services to the chief lord.[28] Four months later,

[20] BCM A1/24/19–20.

[21] BCM A1/24/205.

[22] BCM A1/24/200.

[23] BCM A1/24/37.

[24] BCM A1/24/21. This six and a half acres in Dolefield had apparently been alienated to Berkeley before the date of this charter as it had been leased to John Abbot in the summer of 1317 at 12*s.* a year, although the charter of this lease is dated only April 1321: BCM A1/24/22.

[25] BCM A1/24/201.

[26] BCM A1/24/30, 38.

[27] BCM A1/24/208.

[28] BCM A1/24/203, 209. The lease was made to Richard Reynolds of Aust and his wife Isabel but when part of the capital messuage was leased seven months later, the lease stated that Richard Payn and his wife Isabel were to have access through the gate with their wagons and carts to cultivate their five selions.

in September 1323, the grange, waggon-shed, lower gate and one plot of land was granted to Alan le Scot, his wife Juliana, and their sons Henry and John, for their lives, at sixpence a year, and three months later they also had the messuage called the byre and two other plots of land for a penny a year.[29] Robert still had some land in hand at this point as the lease specified that he was to have free access through the gate to his croft but in June 1324 he mortgaged three hedges and ditches to the Scots for 24*s.* which was to be repaid in Berkeley church at the following Michaelmas.[30] The end came in February 1325 when he relinquished, because of his poverty, a cottage next to his holding which he had held for life and for which he had owed a rent of 5*s.* a year to the Berkeley lords and in March 1325 he granted to his brother Richard part of his hall with a plot of land and four selions within the curtillage, and the rent of 2*d.* a year which John Purlewent paid for one acre of meadow in Perham, and the reversion of all the lands, holdings, and rents which ought by right to have come to Robert.[31] Three months later Richard leased the part of the hall and land and rent to Nicholas le Vinea and his wife for ten years at 3*s.* 1*d.* a year, the rent which it owed to the chief lord, and later granted the messuage with curtillage, which was the principal messuage of Robert his brother, and the Purlewent rent, to Thomas (III).[32]

A membrane attached to the side of the 1323 rental, opposite the entry which had recorded that Robert Averay had owed a rent of 12*s.* 6*d.*, lists the apportionment of the rent between the various tenants now holding the land and it would seem that Richard Averay had also granted to Berkeley all the 'lands, holdings, and rents which ought by right have come to Robert and his heirs'.[33] As it lists Richard as owing 3*s.* 1*d.* for part of the capital messuage and the Purlewent rent it was presumably drawn up either between 19th March and 24th June 1325 or some ten years later when the lease to the Vineas had expired. The list specifies 51 acres of land, 9 acres of meadow, and ¼ acre of pasture but does not appear to comprehend all Averay's land as missing from it are at least some of the holdings of which Thomas (II) had already acquired the reversion, namely, the Hooper plot and the Page acre. It is possible therefore that the other holdings of which he had obtained the reversion also do not appear, i.e. the plot and thirteen and a half acres in Dolefield held by the Framilodes, two acres in Dolefield held by the Costons, two parcels in Berkeleywood held by the Abbots, seven selions in Westfield held by the Cuppers, and thirty-one selions in Berkeleywood, five selions in Oakhunger, and half an acre of meadow in Holmead held by the Millers. It is also unclear how the capital messuage was accounted for as it includes Richard Averay's holding of half the capital messuage and the Purlewent rent, presumably the same holding as Robert granted to Richard in March 1325 as part of the hall, four selions and a plot within the curtillage, and the Purlewent rent, and the other half of the capital messuage, presumably the hall only as it owed only 3*d.* a year, and the small pasture which Averay had leased to Richard ate Slo, but not apparently the five-selion plot leased to Richard Reynolds *alias* Payn nor the buildings and plots leased to the Scots, unless they are included within Richard Averay's portion. The 6½ acres in Dolefield which Thomas had acquired directly does appear as

[29] BCM A1/24/202–3.
[30] BCM A1/24/204.
[31] BCM A1/24/39, 125.
[32] BCM A1/24/40–1.
[33] BCM A1/24/164. See table at end.

it had been leased to John Abbot at 12*s.* a year as well and when he relinquished this in 1325–6 the unpaid old rent of 7*d.* is recorded as well as the unpaid new rent of 12*s.* Similarly the reversion of the meadow in Wynemead on Thomas le Seriaunt's death, which had been granted by Averay to John le Seriaunt and his son in fee, had obviously been acquired by Berkeley as on Thomas le Seriaunt's death during Lent 1326 the meadow came into the lord's hands.

It is impossible to assess the full extent of Robert Averay's holdings as it is unknown how much land he held of other lords but the land he held of the Berkeley lords may, perhaps, have comprised most of his holding. If the rents list does not include the land of which Thomas (II) had already obtained the reversion, a further 15½ acres, 43 selions, two parcels and two plots of land and half an acre of meadow should be added to the 51 acres of land, 9 acres of meadow, and ¼ acre of pasture specified in the list, although the acreage comprised in the selions is unknown. Nevertheless, a holding which comprised a minimum of 66½ acres and 9½ acres of meadow was a substantial one for which he owed a rent of only 12*s.* 6*d.* a year. A modest rental value of 12*d.* per acre for the arable and 2*s.* per acre for the meadow provides a value of well over £4 a year and this begs the question of what caused Robert Averay's troubles. The alienations and mortgages had begun before the effects of the agrarian crisis of 1315–22 can have been felt, although this may have prevented him from making a recovery and forced him into moving from temporary alienations to permanent ones. There are some indications that some of the land may already have been alienated at nominal rents by his father and grandfather. Alured le Shipward had leased a messuage and enclosure to Ralph de Framilode in fee for 22*d.* a year.[34] His son Richard had granted two acres of meadow in Perham to Alexander Purlewent in 1269 for 18*s.* for six years and it may be that at least part of this had been converted into a permanent tenure as by 1325 John Purlewent held what was said to be one acre of meadow in Perham at 2*d.* a year.[35] Richard had also granted meadow in Holmead to Henry le Gardener for a cash sum, and a penny rent, and two selions in Oakhunger to Hugh de Coston, although this was to be held of the chief lord.[36] The resolution of a dispute between Robert and Henry le Gardener in July 1323 when each quitclaimed to the other all quarrels, merchandise and transgressions between them since the coronation of Edward II may perhaps indicate a long-running lawsuit which required large cash sums to maintain, but which may equally be only another contributory or even a minor factor.[37] The gradual stages of the disintegration, beginning with the astute lease of plots in the suburbs of the borough for realistic rents, moving on to mortgages and temporary leases at nominal rents in exchange for cash sums, then the permanent alienation of the reversion of some of these leases, and finally the leasing of plots of land and the farm buildings within his capital messuage and the handing over of what remained to his brother, indicates a persistent and unresolvable problem but it is, unfortunately, one on which the surviving evidence sheds no light.

As interesting as the demise of the Averays are those who apparently profited from that demise, apart from the Berkeleys. Perhaps the most remarkable of these is Hugh de Coston as he was originally a villein. He was the son of Alice de Coston and either

[34] BCM A1/24/21.
[35] BCM A1/24/274.
[36] BCM A1/64/43, 65/13.
[37] BCM A1/68/1.

he or his mother had presumably come to Berkeley from the manor of Coston in Leicestershire which Joan de Ferrers brought as part of her marriage portion to Thomas (II) Lord Berkeley (d. 1321) on their marriage around 1270. The disabilities of the personal status of villeinage is clearly illustrated in the earliest dated reference to Hugh, a charter of October 1286 by which Thomas granted Hugh, with his progeny, to the prosperous freeholder and longtime Berkeley servant Robert de Stone.[38] Such grants of villeins often included the land they held but no such land is mentioned in the grant of Hugh.[39] He may have been manumitted by Stone as he was free by 1310 when he appears as a charter witness, although his name appears on only five charters in the archive between then and 1322.[40] Despite his unfree birth, Hugh evidently prospered and several surviving charters illustrate at least some of his various acquisitions. By the mid 1290s he was in a position to lend 32*s.* to the freeholder John de Acton, for which Acton mortgaged seven sellions of land in Broad Croft in Ham, the money to be repaid on 24th June 1296; the land may not have been redeemed as in April 1310 Hugh and his wife Alice had a quitclaim of land which Hugh had had by grant of Acton.[41] By November 1312 he was lending four marks to the distressed Robert Averay in exchange for a mortgage of Averay's meadow in Bulwick, and in December 1315 Averay granted the meadow to Hugh and Alice and their two sons for their lives at a rose a year, as well as two acres of land in Dolefield which he had granted to them, again for their lives, in 1314.[42] His care is illustrated by his gradual acquisition of a croft in Sanigre. This was held by Hervey de Ham from the 'chief lord', who is unidentified, at 9*d.* a year but Hervey granted it to Hugh who then leased it, by an early and consequently undated charter, to Henry the skinner at 4*s.* 6*d.* a year. Hervey's son Walter granted the holding, i.e. the rent, presumably, which is unspecified, to his mother Juliana who granted it to Hugh, and Hugh then obtained a quitclaim from Walter.[43] Another croft, at Dolefield in the vill of Wanswell, was obtained from Henry le Grout in exchange for land in Joels Actree in Alkington, and later granted by Hugh to his son Thomas in December 1331.[44] Other surviving charters show that Hugh acquired a scattering of other small acquisitions, chiefly within the vills of Ham manor.[45]

The reasons for Hugh's success are as undiscoverable as the reasons for Averay's demise but he was unlucky in his descendents. Hugh and his wife Alice had two sons, Thomas and John, and a daughter Margery who was married in 1319 to William, son of John Judd. On this occasion Hugh gave to William, in free marriage with Margery, a holding within the borough of Berkeley and three parcels of land within Ham manor, one lying in Oakhanger and two in the West Field.[46] The grant was to them and their issue and they were to pay 2*s.* a year to Hugh and another halfpenny at

[38] BCM A1/65/1.

[39] For instance, a grant by Sir Robert de Berkeley to his brother Thomas (II) in 1288 of his villein Walter le Palmer and his progeny and land in Coaley: BCM A1/2/18, 14/12.

[40] BCM A1/24/12, 13, 79, 292, 30/4.

[41] BCM A1/65/6–7.

[42] BCM A1/24/18, 65/8–9.

[43] BCM A1/65/23–6.

[44] BCM A1/65/27–31.

[45] BCM A1/65. Sanigre and Wanswell were then vills of Ham manor.

[46] BCM A1/62/14.

Easter, which were probably the rents Hugh himself owed for the land. Hugh is last heard of in September 1332 and died shortly before Michaelmas 1337 when the two acres of land in Dolefield which he had acquired from Averay in 1314, and of which the reversion had been bought by Thomas (II) Lord Berkeley in 1318, came into the hands of Thomas (III).[47] His son John is not heard of after 1319 but Thomas, presumably the elder son, was granted land by his father in December 1331 and September 1332, on which last occasion he is described as son and heir of Hugh.[48] Thomas witnessed charters in 1338 and 1344.[49] He may not have been as successful as his father as in September 1348 he granted one acre of meadow at Bulwick to John le Hert for four years in exchange for 30*s*.[50] This Thomas may have died during the Black Death but left a son, also Thomas. By 1361–2 the Coston holdings were in the hands of a minor as the Ham account of that year records that, during the minority of the heir of Hugh de Coston, the sum of 12*s*. 9*d*. annually was paid for the wardship of 6½ acres of land.[51] By May 1362 the croft at Wanswell had passed to Thomas Judd following the death of 'Thomas son and heir of Thomas de Coston' and it is likely that, by this date, the Coston line had died out and Thomas Judd had inherited as the heir of William Judd and Margery de Coston.[52]

The extent of the inheritance built up by Hugh de Coston cannot be calculated but, while it may well have been as large as that of Robert Averay, it is unlikely to have been on the same scale as the holdings of John de Sanigre. The inhabitants of the lordship of Berkeley in the period *c*. 1300 ranged from the utterly landless and the pitifully impoverished holders of an acre or two, through all possible gradations of wealth and rank to peers of the realm. Rather higher in the scale than Averay, and exemplars of the ranks of the prosperous freeholders who were nevertheless below the magic circle of the 'gentry', were Robert de Stone and Robert de Breadstone. Their importance within their own community is indicated by the frequency with which they witnessed charters for their neighbours and they were also valued servants of Thomas (II) Lord Berkeley.[53] Unfortunately, the precise extent of their lands is unknown.

Robert de Stone died in the spring of 1299 but his importance to his lord is indicated by the rewards he received, his appearance as a member of the Berkeley household when he was among those who witnessed a charter of the earl of Norfolk drawn up while the earl was at Berkeley in April 1291, the allocation of a chamber in the Castle for his personal use, and his presence on campaign with Berkeley in 1297–8.[54] His value as an estate servant is indicated by his role in drawing up the impressive rental for the whole lordship in 1288.[55] His prosperity is indicated by his

[47] BCM A1/24/132.

[48] BCM A1/65/31, 33.

[49] BCM A1/24/198, 32/7, 61/25.

[50] BCM A1/65/10.

[51] BCM A1/24/144.

[52] BCM A1/65/34. The reference to the heir of Hugh de Coston in 1361–2 does not specify whether the heir was Thomas son of Thomas de Coston or Thomas Judd.

[53] For their appearance as witnesses, see BCM *passim*.

[54] BCM A1/24/111–4, *CCR* 1288–96, 201, PRO C67/12 m.5, C81/1720/79. He was allowed the rent of 44*s*. he owed for lands held of the manor of Ham and had a gift of two colts from his lord in 1296–7:

[55] BCM A4/2/11.

purchase of Wanswell Court from Henry de Wanswell for one hundred marks and further lands in Stone and Woodford from Henry for another 112 marks, a total expenditure of over £141.[56] Further, he leased from his lord for a rent of £11 a year a burgage in the borough and a number of holdings in the Ham vills of Wanswell and Stone and the Alkington vills of Woodford and Wick, which included a virgate, four half-virgates, and a quarter-virgate, which were either 130 acres or 195 acres depending on the size of the virgate, and a further forty acres of land, three acres of meadow, and 6¼ acres of pasture in six separate holdings, as well as another two holdings the size of which is unspecified.[57] His son Robert evidently predeceased him as he was succeeded by his grandson, Thomas de Stone. Thomas first appears as a charter witness in November 1304 and continues to appear until June 1314; on 1st September 1316 he was 'recently deceased' and his lands were divided between his two daughters and heirs.[58] Although Thomas witnessed charters as frequently as his grandfather, both for his neighbours and for his lord, there is no evidence that he held a position as close to his lord as Robert. He may not have been as able. His earliest appearance in the records is in 1304 when he relinquished to Thomas (II) Lord Berkeley the lands which had been leased to his grandfather by Berkeley at a rent of £11 a year. Thomas had found difficulty in paying this rent and in giving up the land he was following the advice of his friends, who included his mother Juliana and Robert de Breadstone.[59] In May 1329 his lands in Stone, Lower Stone, and Wanswell were divided between his daughters and their husbands, in 1347 a partition was made of his lands in Ham, Cam, Stinchcombe, Kingscote, and Hazelcote, and in 1354 of a messuage and virgate of land in Nibley, probably comprising sixty acres.[60]

Robert de Stone's importance may have derived chiefly from his personal abilities which gained him a role within the Berkeley household and which allowed him to make extensive purchases and to lease land at high rents, qualities which were not, apparently, inherited by his grandson. Robert de Breadstone's abilities were as great but were probably originally underpinned by a more secure landed background. He held a small sub-manor of the Castle at Breadstone, then considered to be parcel of Cam manor, for which he owed a rent of 5*s*. a year, later reduced to 3*s*..[61] Robert was as frequent a witness to charters, for both his neighbours and the Berkeley lords, as his colleague Robert de Stone, and he too campaigned with Thomas (II) in 1297–8, but his latest appearance in the archive is in witnessing a charter on 20th July 1311 and he probably died soon after.[62] He was succeeded by his son Thomas who in November 1315 created by fine a jointure with his first wife Isabel in what may have

[56] Smyth iii. 373.

[57] BCM A1/24/190.

[58] BCM A1/11/10, 24/191, 31/32.

[59] BCM A1/24/90.

[60] BCM A1/24/173, 56/29, Smyth iii. 374–5. Smyth states that the Nibley lands were divided in 1347 and those in Ham, Cam, etc., in 1353, but the original charter of the division of Nibley in 1353 survives, a rare slip by the antiquarian.

[61] Smyth iii. 113. Robert's name appears in the rental of 1288 as owing 5*s*. a year to Cam: BCM A4/2/11. By an early and undated charter Robert granted to Thomas (II) a rent of 2*s*. and received in exchange a remittance of 2*s*. a year of his rent of 5*s*. a year which he owed for his lands in Breadstone: BCM A1/24/54.

[62] BCM A1/3/84, PRO C67/12 mm. 3, 5, C81/1720/79.

been the entire, or at least the chief, of the family inheritance.[63] This was described as a messuage, two carucates of land, twenty acres of meadow, seven acres of pasture, and £5 of rent in Cam, Alkington, and Ham.[64] An extent of his manor of Breadstone made in 1322 valued it at £12 12*s.* 11*d.* a year, including £7 7*s.* 11*d.* of rents, of which he owed 3*s.* a year to the manor of Cam.[65] It is likely that this was underestimated but, while the young Thomas was in no danger of receiving an income of £40 a year which would have made him liable to take knighthood, he was probably sufficiently wealthy to enjoy at least some of the leisure time which was the hallmark of gentle status. A marriage alliance occurred between the families of Robert de Stone and Robert de Breadstone as in 1317 Thomas de Breadstone described the late Thomas de Stone as his brother.[66] Breadstone's first wife Isabel may have been a sister of Thomas de Stone, although they may have been half-brothers if Thomas de Stone's mother Juliana had remarried to Robert de Breadstone.[67] The futures of the brothers could not have been more different. While Thomas de Stone died after a career undistinguished by anything other than charter witnessing leaving his lands to be divided between his daughters, Thomas de Breadstone rose to the ranks of the peerage. This was made possible by his early service to his Berkeley lords.

He first appears as a charter witness on 20th February 1312, seven months after his father's last appearance, and continued to witness frequently, chiefly for his lords, until 1322.[68] In 1318 he was among those who accompanied the future Thomas (III) Lord Berkeley and his brother Maurice on the unlicensed hunting party in the earl of Pembroke's park at Painswick, two years later he was among those who went to Gascony with Maurice (III), and he followed his lords into rebellion in 1321–2.[69] He was amongst those who witnessed a charter for Maurice on 6th January 1322, only weeks before Maurice surrendered, and forfeited his own lands which were restored, with a pardon, only on his promise of a fine of 100 marks.[70] With what can only be described as criminal arrogance, he was appointed as keeper of Berkeley Castle in the autumn of 1326 and provided with a garrison but surrendered the castle to Isabella as soon as she arrived on 22nd October.[71] Subsequently he joined the royal household with his friend Maurice de Berkeley, younger brother of Thomas (III), where his abilities were sufficient to earn him promotion to banneret, an annuity of 500 marks, plentiful other rewards, and finally a summons to parliament in 1347.[72] Sadly, the tale of his heirs was similar to that of Robert de Stone. Thomas's son and heir Robert

[63] The number of these sons named after the lord of Berkeley may be noted.

[64] PRO CP25/76/47 no. 135.

[65] PRO SC12/36/11 m.6*d.*.

[66] BCM A1/24/175.

[67] Juliana and Robert de Breadstone were associated among the 'friends' of Thomas de Stone who in 1304 advised him to give up the lands held of the Castle at £11 a year. In 1318 Thomas de Breadstone was described as son of Robert: *CPR* 1317–21, 364–5, *CCR* 1318–23, 222. The description of Thomas as son of Henry in GEC (ii. 273) is an error.

[68] BCM A1/19/19.

[69] *CPR* 1317–21, 364–5, 432, *CCR* 1318–23, 222.

[70] BCM A1/17/7, *CFR* 1319–27, 84, 171, *CPR*, 1321–4, 248.

[71] There was a garrison of twelve men from 12th to 16th October, increased to nineteen men with Breadstone for the following five days: BCM A4/2/26.

[72] His career is summarised by GEC (ii. 273) and Smyth i. 282–6.

predeceased him and Thomas was succeeded by a grandson, another Thomas, who was only eight on Thomas's death in 1360 and who died in 1374 without having proved his age and leaving only a baby daughter.

The fragility of lineages is a constant theme of the medieval gentry and nobility but among the tenants of the Berkeley lords were two gentry families whose pedigrees were respectably long. Both were related to the lords by marriage and in both cases it was the marital connection which provided the tenurial one. The Veels of Huntingford and Hamfallow, originally Ham 'Veel', rose to prominence in the person of Sir Robert le Veel who died between 1298 and 1301. His ancestor, possibly his grandfather, Geoffrey le Veel was probably of humble standing when, at the beginning of the 13th century, he married Maud, granddaughter of Robert Fitzharding's brother Elias. By this marriage he acquired the sub-manor of Huntingford which had been granted by Fitzharding to Elias.[73] Sir Robert apparently made his fortune in the service of the penultimate Clare earl of Gloucester and acquired, partly by grant of his lord, extensive lands in Glamorgan and England.[74] He was also closely connected with the lord of Berkeley, as was his grandson Sir Peter (d. 1343) and great-grandson Sir Peter (d. 1391), the latter of whom married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas de Breadstone.[75] The direct line continued until the late 15th century, and the male line, which continued to hold some of the lands, even longer. The marriage of Thomas (III) Lord Berkeley to Katherine, widow of the first Sir Peter, brought the sub-manor of Hamfallow, which she held in dower, into Berkeley hands from the date of the marriage in 1347 until Thomas' death in 1361. It was administered with the lordship manor of Ham and, like Breadstone, this was a valuable little manor. It usually paid a rent of 24*s.* to the manor but the sub-tenants paid rents of £4 3*s.* 4*d.* and some of the Veel demesne was leased at £5 3*s.* 2*d.*, a total rent of £9 6*s.* 6*d.* and a net cash profit to Thomas of £8 2*s.* 6*d.*, quite apart from the demesne which continued in cultivation.

The other gentry family was Basset of Uley and among the many charters in the Castle are six endorsed 'Borrowed of Wm. Basset esquire 19 Oct 1606'. Like many enthusiasts, John Smyth was clearly more eager to use these documents than to return them. In the early 1260s Sir Anselm Basset married Margaret, daughter of Thomas (I) Lord Berkeley (d. 1243) and widow of Sir John FitzMatthew (d. 1261), and one of the 'borrowed' documents is one counterpart of the grant by which Thomas gave to Margaret half his manor of Uley to hold as a quarter fee. She was clearly unmarried at the time as no husband is mentioned and may have remained unmarried until around 1255.[76] FitzMatthew's several manors lay in Devon, Wiltshire, and Hampshire, but he died in 1261 leaving a very young son and heir, Matthew, and a daughter Joan. Margaret was awarded the manors of Warblington and Hunton

[73] Smyth iii. 234–5.

[74] See Wells-Furby *Catalogue*, 552–6, for the Veel family.

[75] *CIPM* xii. 325, BCM A3/17/1.

[76] FitzMatthew had succeeded to the family inheritance only in 1255 following the deaths without issue of his elder brothers Herbert (dsp. 1245) and Piers (dsp. 1255). It is unlikely, perhaps, that she married him before he had succeeded to the estate and her son by him, Matthew, was certainly very young when he died in 1261. He was still a minor in 1266 and the first record of him as an adult is in January 1280 when he was about to go on pilgrimage to Santiago. For this family see GEC v. 442–5.

(Hants.), and Pyworthy, Start, and a third of Oakford (Devon) in dower and married again to Sir Anselm Basset of Somerset by October 1265 when they were pardoned for marrying without licence.[77] By Anselm she had another two sons, John and Edmund, and three daughters, Isabel, Margaret, and Katherine, but Anselm died in 1280 and Margaret lived on in a second widowhood for at least another seven years as she was still alive in 1287.

Anselm's father David Basset was closely associated with the Marshal earls of Pembroke and may have held land of them in Ireland.[78] He increased his estate by marrying a Somerset heiress, Isabel Whiting, who brought him moieties of Saltford and Winford, half a fee in Rodney Stoke, and a carucate of land in Ashton, but he died before her and by Easter 1263 she was remarried to Bartholomew de Empnebergh.[79] At this time Isabel and Bartholomew granted these lands to her son Anselm, although he was to pay £20 a year to them for Isabel's life for Saltford and Rodney Stoke.[80] Anselm made additions to Winford and Saltford and may also have acquired manors in High Littleton and Hinton Blewett, which lay close to each other and to the south of Winford and Saltford, and both of which passed to his younger son Edmund.[81] Winford and Ashton lay within the Berkeley hundred of Harcliffe, and the other lands nearby in northern Somerset, well within the Berkeley orbit. While Anselm was clearly a substantial member of the Somerset gentry and probably also held lands in Wales or Ireland of the Marshal successors, his marriage to Margaret de Berkeley, with her extensive dower lands, was apparently one of those which prompted the great and otherwise astute McFarlane to declare that, once free of their family's control and able to choose for themselves, 'dowagers were fair game for adventurers with pretty faces'.[82] While the prettiness of Sir Anselm's face is of course unknown, it is clear that he was welcomed within the family as two of Margaret's brothers, Sir William and Sir Richard, granted to the couple holdings that they had acquired within the lordship of Berkeley at Uley and Cam respectively.[83] Anselm appears in the public records only after his marriage to Margaret and these references point almost entirely to his close association with the Lord Edward and Edward's friends Roger de Leyburn, Roger Clifford, and John Giffard,[84] but, as he only obtained possession of his mother's lands in 1263, it is unclear whether he gained access to the court through his brothers-in-law Maurice (II) Lord Berkeley and Sir

[77] *CPR* 1258–66, 467. The marriage may have taken place some time before this date.

[78] *CPR* 1232–47, 57, *CCR* 1231–4, 259, 351, 451, 475, 541, *C.Ch.R.* 1226–57, 230, 1257–1300, 361, 1300–26, 98. In 1276 Anselm nominated his north Somerset neighbour Roger Perceval as his attorney in Ireland for two years: *CPR* 1272–81, 128.

[79] VCH Somerset viii. 25–34.

[80] SRS vi, 196.

[81] SRS vi, 210, 218–9. The feudal inquisition of 1284–5 recorded that Anselm held High Littleton, although he was then dead: *Feud Aids* iv. 297–8, 311, 357, 428. In 1270 Anselm and his heirs were granted a market and fair at Langridge, east of Saltford, although this was later held by the Waleys family: *C.Ch.R.* 1257–1300, 182, *Feud Aids* iv. 311, 329, 357, 378.

[82] McFarlane *Nobility*, 153.

[83] William granted to Anselm the lands which, around 1262, he had acquired from Peter de Uley, *viz.* all his land in Uley: BCM A1/57/1–4, Smyth iii 184. Richard granted to Anselm and Margaret, and Anselm's heirs, a holding of fourteen acres in *Chosleye* and sixteen and a half acres in Cam, with two rents of a penny and twopence: BCM A1/56/6–9.

[84] *CPR* 1258–66, 591, 1266–72, 298, 1272–81, 362, 367.

William, both household knights, bolstered by possession of his wife's dower lands, or whether his position independent of the Berkeleys, both locally and at court, rendered him an appropriate second husband for Margaret. With or without the support his marriage may have given him, he was clearly an influential figure as in May 1267 he was able to gain a royal pardon for one Henry de Mirifenne for the death of Adam le Muner, and in April 1280, by grant of the king, orders were given to permit him to hunt hare and fox in Bristol Chase, evidence of a personal closeness to the monarch.[85] He was unable to take much advantage of this liberty as he died on 1st October 1280.[86]

Winford, Saltford, and Rodney Stoke passed to his elder son John, while Edmund held Hinton Blewett and High Littleton.[87] John acquired further land in Winford in 1295 and in 1304 had licence to grant to Bath Priory a small holding in Walcot by Bath.[88] Both remained very close to their cousin Thomas (II). In 1289–90 John, not yet knighted, received 10*s.* on the instructions of Thomas (II) from Ham manor, both campaigned with Thomas in Scotland in 1299–1300, both witnessed the important family settlement by which Thomas granted several manors of the inheritance to his heir Maurice in August 1301, and John witnessed numerous other charters between July 1301 and January 1306.[89] Both, however, also formed other relationships. In November 1294 John, still unknighted, witnessed a charter of Edmund earl of Lancaster by which he confirmed a grant of a Nottinghamshire manor to Master Walter de Gloucester; it is not entirely clear whether he witnessed as a friend of Lancaster's or of Gloucester's as his brother had dealings with both Lancaster's younger son and with Gloucester.[90] Edmund was pardoned in May 1307 for acquiring in fee simple from Henry of Lancaster the manor of Berwick St James (Wilts.), said to be worth nearly £9 a year, and in May 1309 witnessed a charter of Henry's at Kidwelly.[91] In February 1308 he acknowledged a debt of £40 to Walter de Gloucester and another of £20 to Gloucester in March 1310, and also one of £20 to Robert de Sutton in March 1308.[92]

John predeceased Edmund and Edmund died shortly before 20th January 1311 leaving as his heirs his sisters Isabel, widow of John Punchardoun, Margaret, wife of Sir Nicholas de Valers, and Katherine, widow of John Biset. His inquisition *post mortem*, held only because he held a small holding of the Berkeleys of Dursley, the heir of whom was then a minor and in the king's wardship, was woefully deficient. Returns

[85] *CPR* 1266–72, 61, *CCR* 1279–88, 11.

[86] *CPR* 1281–92, 156. He is said to have died at his manor of 'Stoke', possibly *Earlstoke* (Wilts.), another of the FitzJohn manors.

[87] *Feud Aids* vi. 297, 309, 290–1, 304, 311–2. John is recorded as holding Winford in 1284–5 and Winford, Saltford, and Rodney Stoke in 1303, and Edmund as holding Hinton Blewett in 1284–5 and Hinton and High Littleton in 1303.

[88] SRS vi. 294, *CPR* 1301–7, 241.

[89] PRO C67/14 m. 2, C81/1720/107, BCM A1/24/110, 19/7, 1/75, 2/37, 11/9, 23/1–2, 18/4, 34/4, 24/190.

[90] *CPR* 1291–1301, 105.

[91] *CPR* 1301–7, 522, 1313–7, 222, Wiltshire *Inquisitiones Post Mortem* 1242–1326 (British Record Soc.), 343–4. There is only an incidental reference to this grant in VCH Wilts. (xv. 171) and the manor did not pass to Edmund's heirs as it was held by Lancaster at his death in 1345.

[92] *CCR* 1307–13, 52, 54, 250. In 1308 he was said to have lands in Staffordshire although these are otherwise unknown.

survive only from Somerset and Gloucestershire and it recorded only that he had held, in Somerset, the moiety of Saltford with a watermill and other holdings in Winford and eighty acres of arable, fifteen acres of meadow, and 6*s.* of rent in Dundry, near Winford, and, in Gloucestershire, a messuage and carucate at Uley held of the Berkeleys of Dursley valued at 38*s.*, a messuage and virgate there held of Walter de Chaldefelde worth no more than the rent of 20*s.*, a messuage and half a virgate at neighbouring Owlpen worth 7*s.* 8*d.*, and a holding of sixty acres with appurtenances at Cam worth 33*s.* 8*d.*[93] His debt acknowledgements to Walter de Gloucester are interesting in view of the fact that his mother's manor of Uley, to which he had a strong hereditary claim, was then in the possession of Gloucester and they may have been bonds, into which he had been obliged to enter, to protect Gloucester's interests. His mother's manor had been settled, possibly after Anselm's death, on her daughter by FitzMatthew, Joan, who married Walter, son and heir apparent of John Lord Beke (d. *c.* 1303) and Joan and Walter were holding Uley of Thomas (II) Lord Berkeley by 1284–5. Joan died without issue before 20th May 1295 but in 1287 her brother Matthew FitzJohn had granted the reversion of his entire inheritance to the king and queen, including the manors his mother held in dower and those held by his sister Joan.[94] On Matthew's death in 1309 his manors were parcelled out among various of the king's kinsmen, friends and servants, and although Uley is not mentioned it evidently passed to Sir Walter de Gloucester.

Sir Walter was a highly successful royal official who died holding a number of manors in Lincolnshire, Worcestershire, and Gloucestershire, including two in Uley.[95] Both the latter manors were held of Thomas (II) Lord Berkeley and both were said to be worth a little over £12 a year, although they were probably worth more.[96] They were evidently two moieties of the original, one of which, later called Bassets Court, had been granted to Margaret de Berkeley, and the other, later called White Court, appears to have been held by the Brampton family.[97] Walter de Gloucester left a widow Hawise and a son and heir Walter, aged seventeen, who died in 1323 leaving his son, another Walter, aged seven, but Hawise held White Court in jointure and was awarded a third of Bassets Court in dower, and was still living in 1332.[98] Soon after this, however, the family lost both their Uley manors. Maurice de Berkeley of Stoke Giffard had acquired White Court by 1340, in 1344 Sir Walter de Gloucester

[93] *CIPM* v. 271, *GIPM* v. 116–7.

[94] GEC v. 443 and note.

[95] *CIPM* v. 350, *GIPM* v. 124–31. Gloucester had probably had an interest in Uley before *c.* 1300 as he had been granted land in Uley and Owlpen by Bartholomew de Owlpen and Peter Jakes and Bartholomew was probably dead by *c.* 1300. Gloucester had then granted the lands to Thomas de Luda who had granted the rent and reversion to his brothers. Both these charters were later in the possession of William Basset: BCM A1/57/7–8.

[96] GIPM v. 128–31. The values given in inquisitions *post mortem* are notoriously underestimated.

[97] Smyth iii. 186. Deeds concerning the Brampton manor remained in the possession of the Berkeleys of Stoke Giffard who later held White Court: *Ibid.*

[98] Smyth iii. 186–8. It is evident that the one in which she held jointure was White Court as an annuity representing a dower third was paid from the other to Eleanor, widow of Walter le Beke, which, although Beke could have had no claim to the manor after the death of his first wife Joan, had presumably been awarded to Eleanor by some other arrangement: *GIPM* v. 131.

quitclaimed to Maurice, and it descended with this cadet branch.[99] Bassets Court was acquired at an unknown date by Sir Simon Basset.

Smyth described Simon as a son of an Edmund Basset by his wife Isabel, sister and heir of (another) Edmund Basset who married secondly to Puncherdoun.[100] Clearly he was puzzled and produced this convoluted tale to explain how Simon, and the eminent county family which descended from him, could have come to hold Uley.[101] It is quite clear that the Edmund who died in 1311 was the son of Anselm and Margaret de Berkeley and that his heirs were his three sisters as most of his lands passed to these sisters and their descendents. Simon, who rose to some prominence in the county, was clearly of humble origins. As a Contrariant he was fined the miniscule sum of ten marks to have his life and lands in 1324 which can be compared with the fine of a hundred marks imposed on Thomas de Breadstone.[102] In the early 1320s Simon was very small fry indeed. In these circumstances it is permissible to suggest that he may have been a bastard son of either Sir John or Sir Edmund.[103]

From such a lowly start he certainly made good and this can almost certainly be attributed to the fact that the relationship with the Berkeley lords remained close. At first this decision cost him dear as the earliest references to Simon in the public records occur because he became involved in the rebellion of Maurice (III) in 1321–2.[104] After the restoration of Thomas (III) he instantly returned as he occurs in the receiver's account of 1327 and in the chamberlain's account of 1328 and his loyalty was repaid when, like Thomas de Breadstone, he rode into the royal household on the coat-tails of Thomas (II)'s younger brother Maurice de Berkeley of Stoke Giffard. He was a 'scutifer' by 1330 and later a household knight.[105] He witnessed charters for the earl of Cornwall in 1332, 1333, and 1336, and received rewards from the earl's father Edward III for his good service.[106] Within the local community he remained extremely close to his kinsmen Thomas (III) and Maurice of Stoke Giffard, witnessing numerous charters between 1335 and the 1350s and campaigning with Maurice in 1342 and 1346.[107] In 1349 his second wife was godmother to one of Thomas (III)'s younger sons, and after Maurice's death he was close to Maurice's son and heir Thomas de Berkeley of Uley as he was a feoffee for Thomas, in 1354 he acknowledged a debt with Thomas, and in 1355 Thomas sealed a charter with the seal of 'his very dear and good friend' Simon, now unfortunately missing from the charter.[108] He also

[99] *Reg Bransford*, 274, PRO CP25/1/77/65 no. 230.

[100] Smyth i. 121, iii. 184.

[101] He may have been following a descent laid out in the 15th century which described Simon as a son of Isabel 'Pynchard' who occurs as one of the three sisters and coheirs of Sir Edmund and Sir John, although this same account describes the wife of Sir Anselm as 'Margaret Lemaheu': *Col. Top. Et Gen.* i. 245–6.

[102] *CFR* 1319–27, 84, 163, 171, *CCR* 1323–7, 73, *CPR* 1321–4, 248, PRO CP25/1/76/47 no. 135.

[103] Simon had sons John and Edmund which does not assist in deciding which was Simon's father.

[104] *CFR* 1319–27, 163, *CCR* 1323–7, 73.

[105] *Cal. Mem. Rolls* 1326–7, 2271, PRO E36/204/86.

[106] Royal Institution of Cornwall HH/13/1, *CFR* 1327–37, 419, 1337–47, 423, *CCR* 1333–7, 428, 1343–6, 288, *CPR* 1334–8, 231, 1338–40, 333, 1343–5, 481, 1377–81, 241.

[107] BCM *passim.*, Smyth i. 252–3.

[108] Smyth i. 348, *CCR* 1354–60, 78, 1360–4, 237, BCM A2/75/4.

played an exceptionally prominent role in the local government of Gloucestershire, being both sheriff and escheator for nine years between 1341 and 1350, a member of the commission of the peace in 1355, 1361, and 1362, and knight of the shire in 1361 and 1363, as well as being appointed to numerous other commissions.[109]

The mystery is on what landed estate this career was based. As he held no lands in chief there is no inquisition *post mortem* and he makes no appearance within the Gloucestershire or Somerset feet of fines. It was probably his position as a household knight which enabled him to recover Uley, possibly with the support of his friend Maurice de Berkeley, and there is other evidence to suggest that his Berkeley cousins assisted him. In 1318 Thomas (II) acquired from Margaret de Valers, one of Sir Edmund's sisters, the lands she had inherited from her brother in Cam and Coaley and one of these charters was also in the possession of William Basset in 1606, a strong indication that the land so acquired was later passed on to Simon.[110] Simon also obtained some of the lands which had been held by John and Edmund in Somerset which appear to have passed only to Margaret, daughter and eventual heir of Katherine Basset and John Biset, who married first Walter de Romsey and second Robert Martin. In the 1327 subsidy Simon paid only 12*d.* in Saltford, possibly in respect of a small holding settled on him by his father, but by 1346 he was sharing Saltford and Winford with Robert Martin.[111] In 1386 Margaret's daughter Eleanor de Romsey was holding a life estate in two-thirds of Winford and lands in Uley and Cam, evidently from her mother's inheritance, confirmed to her by her brother Walter de Romsey, but by 1428 there was no Romsey interest in either Winford and Saltford which were then held by Simon's son Edmund and Edmund's son and heir John respectively.[112] In 1346 Sir Edmund's manor in Littleton was held by one John de Rockbourne but by 1375 it was held by Walter de Romsey and Simon's widow Maud Basset.[113] Before his death Simon had acquired lands said to be worth £10 a year in Winford, Saltford, Dundry, and *Hasell* by Dundry, with rents of 39*s.* in Barrow, Backwell, *Rochell*, and Ashton, and in 1401 his son Edmund was restored to third parts of the manors of Winford, Saltford, and Littleton, and the advowsons of Winford and Saltford.[114]

Simon was married twice and probably gained great support from his able and strong-willed second wife Maud de Bitton. He was married to Elizabeth by 1336 when John de Bradford, chaplain, granted to them both messuages with appurtenances in Nibley, Stancombe, and Wick.[115] Elizabeth was dead by May 1341 when he was married to Maud, daughter of Sir John de Bitton and widow of William de la More of

[109] For Basset's career, see Nigel Saul *Knights and Esquires: The Gloucestershire Gentry in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1981), *passim*.

[110] BCM A1/14/19–20.

[111] *Somerset Record Society* (henceforward SRS) iii. 92, *Feud Aids* iv. 347, 357. Walter de Romsey paid 3*s.* in Saltford in 1327.

[112] *CCR* 1385–9, 118, *Feud Aids* iv. 382, 379.

[113] *Feud Aids* iv. 354, *CIPM* xiv. 209. Rockbourne was a Biset manor. Katherine's husband John Biset had died in 1307, he was succeeded by his son John who died without issue in 1334 and then by the younger John's sister Margaret de Romsey: VCH Hants iv. 583.

[114] *CIPM* xv. 465–6, *CCR* 1399–1402, 250.

[115] Birmingham City Archives MS 3549/11. I owe this reference to the admirable A2A website and have not seen the original.

Oldland, in Bitton (Glos.), Pencoed (Glam.), and lands in Somerset and Wiltshire. More had died the previous year leaving a three-year-old son John, who died without issue in 1349, and a daughter Cecily, John's heir, who was later married to Nicholas Berkeley of Dursley.[116] The profits of Maud's marriage had been granted to Thomas de Breadstone and, Simon having satisfied Breadstone with £20, the escheator was ordered to assign her dower on 4th May 1341.[117] This is unfortunately unspecified but in 1364 she was still holding the manor of *Iwode* and lands in Yatton, Congresbury, and Loxton (Som.) and lands in Wiltshire.[118] By his first wife Simon already had a son John and by Maud he had another two, Maurice and Edmund.

John was married in 1341 to another Elizabeth and Simon settled on them the Somerset lands. This marriage was childless but John later married Isabel, widow of Sir Ralph de Abenhall (d. 1347) and daughter and coheir of William de Dean (d. 1319), whose inheritance included the manor of Lasborough and a quarter of Littledean; by her he had two daughters, Margaret and Alice, before his death in January 1362.[119] These girls would have been Simon's heirs but in 1363, shortly before his own death, Simon resettled the Somerset lands, and also those in Gloucestershire, specified as all his lands, etc., and purparty in Uley, Owlpen, Cam, Nibley, Cold Newington, and Preston in Netherwent, on himself and Maud with remainder to their sons.[120] This caused a long-running and violent dispute between Maud and her sons, and Walter Brown and his wife Margaret, daughter of Maud's stepson John Basset, but eventually in 1401 the sheriff of Somerset was ordered to restore possession to Edmund.[121] Edmund maintained the close relationship with the lords of Berkeley as he witnessed charters for Thomas (IV) between 1396 and 1417.[122] He was succeeded by his son John (d. 1433–4) and there followed a direct male succession to William, the unfortunate lender of charters to John Smyth in 1606, who was succeeded by his son William, 'that nowe is, anno 1639'.[123]

To round off this brief account of some of the tenants of Berkeley lordship, it is appropriate to conclude with one of the most eminent, John Lord Botetourte (d. 1324). Although until quite recently usually identified as a bastard son of Edward I,

[116] *Abstracts of Inquisitiones post mortem for Gloucestershire 1236–1413* (3 vols, *BGAS* and British Record Society Index Library, vols xxx, xl, xlviii, 1903–14, the two latter volumes henceforward *GIPM* v. and vi.) v. 279–80, 328–9.

[117] *CCR* 1341–3, 70, 136.

[118] SRS xvii. 188–90.

[119] John and Isabel were pardoned for marrying without licence in November 1358 but a grant of free warren in Lasborough and Pagenhill, originally given in 1256, was confirmed to them in 1354: *CPR* 1358–61, 119, *C.Ch.R.* 1341–1417, 141. When Margaret proved her age in June 1384 it was said that she had been born at Lasborough shortly before Christmas 1363 which was clearly inaccurate: *CIPM* xvi. 76. The inquisition after the death of her father in May 1362 had said that she was then aged two: *CIPM* xi. 285.

[120] *GIPM* vi. 140–1, *CIPM* xvi. 798.

[121] The 1382 inquisition claimed that Simon had survived John by eight years but Simon was dead by Easter 1364: SRS xvii. 188–9. Margaret's sister Alice died childless in 1367. *CIPM* xv. 464–6, xvi. 798, PRO SC8/198/9888, *GIPM* vi. 140–41, VCH Glos v. 163, xi. 287, *CFR* 1391–9, 5–6, *CCR* 1381–5, 466, 1389–92, 134, 1399–1402, 250, PRO SC8/21/1039, 232/11598, 11600, 11599, 22/1072, C44/20/26.

[122] BCM A1/4/31, 33–4, 12/90, 14/59, 50/80, 82, A2/77/14.

[123] Smyth iii. 184.

Botetourte probably came from a Norfolk family but his rapid rise to wealth and influence at the court of that monarch was startling enough to suggest such an underlying cause. He began his career in royal service as a falconer but evidently impressed the king sufficiently to prompt him to award Botetourte with a wealthy marriage to Maud, daughter of Thomas FitzOtto (d. 1274), who eventually inherited all her father's lands in East Anglia and her mother's third of the barony of Beauchamp of Bedford.[124] Botetourte's long and faithful service to both Edward I and his son earned him a summons to parliament from 1305.[125] The FitzOtto inheritance lay chiefly in East Anglia but FitzOtto's ancestor, Otto FitzWilliam, who had married Robert Fitzharding's daughter Margaret, had held the manor of Woodmancote, within the lordship of Berkeley, and this descended to Maud Botetourte. Botetourt witnessed a few charters for Thomas (II) Lord Berkeley between 1290 and 1301 but divested himself of Woodmancote which in 1351 was acquired by Thomas (III) Lord Berkeley and eventually passed to his son John de Berkeley of Beverstone.

The society of the lordship of Berkeley embraced all ranks, from the villein Hugh de Coston, through Robert Averay and the prosperous freeholders Robert de Stone and Robert de Breadstone, to the gentry families of Veel and Basset and the peer John Botetourte. Perhaps it should occasion no surprise that the exemplars of all ranks show the primary importance of personal ability in the individual in making and breaking inheritances and the fragility of male succession. While the careers of Coston, Stone, Thomas de Breadstone, Robert le Veel, Simon Basset, and Botetourte illustrate how a landed position could be earned or greatly enhanced, the failure of the Coston, Stone, and Breadstone lines shows how the energies and capacities of one generation served only to reward another family or families. Unlike land, personal abilities were not necessarily inherited by descendents as illustrated by the undistinguished career of Thomas de Stone and even more dramatically by the miserable tale of Robert Averay. The lordship of Berkeley serves as a microcosm of English society and its unparalleled archive, along with the rest of the medieval muniments in Berkeley Castle, has now been made available for use by scholars and enthusiasts in many fields by the energy and capacity of David Smith.

[124] Michael Prestwich *Edward I* (London, 1988), 131–2.
[125] GEC ii. 233–5.

Rent of Robert Averay apportioned in the presence of John Sergeant

Holder	**Land**	**Rent**
Richard Averay	Part of the capital messuage, and 1 acre of meadow in Perham in the hands of John Purlewent	3*s.* 1*d.*
Richard de Ashleworth	Other part of the capital messuage	3*d.*
John the Miller	6½ acres of land and ½ acre of meadow	14½*d.*
Alan Scot	4 acres of land	9*d.*
John Abbot	2½ acres of land	5*d.*
John Abbot	6½ acres of land (relinquished 1325–6)	7*d.*
Henry le Gardener	1 acre of land and 2 acres of meadow	8*d.*
William le Sumpter	2 acres of land	4*d.*
Alice le Erl	1 acre of land	2*d.*
William Iweyn	¾ acre of land	1½*d.*
John le Cupper	1¼ acres of land	2½*d.*
Thomas le Seriaunt	2 acres of meadow (died Lent 1326)	6*d.*
Hugh de Coston	1½ acres of meadow and ¾ acre of land (Wm Judde holds)	6*d.*
Henry Marybrook	¾ acre of land	1½*d.*
Richard ate Slo	¼ acre of pasture	½*d.*
Edward Framilode	9 acres of land and 2 acres of meadow	2*s.* 2*d.*
Edward Framilode	15 acres of land in Dolefield	17*d.*
Total	51 acres of land, 9 acres of meadow, ¼ acre of pasture	12*s.* 6½*d.*

VI

Landscape and society at Bibury, Gloucestershire to 1540

CHRISTOPHER DYER

WE CAN only learn about larger historical changes by understanding particular places, which justifies subjecting the parish, manor and village of Bibury to careful scrutiny. Like many Cotswold villages, it is well served both by archaeological research and by the survival of documents. The long-term history of the English countryside is now conventionally told in terms of the rise and fall of great estates, served by important minster churches, first documented in the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries. The estates inherited a settled countryside from the Roman period, and were designed to extract revenues, in the form of tribute in kind, from the local population.[1] They were subdivided internally from the beginning, and towards the end of the first millennium broke up into small manorial, village and parochial territories.[2] From the eleventh century onwards the tenants of the manors are revealed paying rents and doing services for their lords, and that relationship developed until the heyday of serfdom and demesnes directly managed by lords in the thirteenth century.[3] The inhabitants of villages, often the same people as the manorial tenants, can be seen up to about 1300 cultivating the fields and organising their communities, in an expanding economy in which population and commercial activity grew.[4] In more uncertain times from the early fourteenth to the early sixteenth century the number of people fell and the principal product of the land, grain, declined in price. At the same time the lords exercised diminishing control over their tenants and lands.[5] The landscape is often seen as reflecting these changes, as villages were formed and open fields extended in the period of the creation of smaller manors and economic growth.[6] The period of reduced population and agricultural profits after 1350 saw rapid landscape change with the shrinkage or desertion of villages, and fields were adapted to new circumstances, sometimes by enclosure.[7]

Bibury in many ways accords with that general picture of changes in landscape and society. It became, indeed, an archetype of a Cotswold village, as in the late nineteenth century it featured in a book by Gibbs, and won approving comments from

[1] C. Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, 2005, 306–26 ;J. Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, 2005.

[2] D. Hooke, *The Landscape of Anglo-Saxon England*, 1998, 39–83.

[3] P. Schofield, *Peasant and Community in Medieval England, 1200–1500*, 2003, 11–33, 157–80; B.M.S. Campbell, *English Seigniorial Agriculture, 1250–1450*, 2000.

[4] R. Britnell, *The Commercialisation of English Society, 1000–1500*, 1998, 79–151.

[5] C. Dyer, *Making a Living in the Middle Ages*, 2002, 271–97, 330–62.

[6] C.C. Taylor, *Village and Farmstead*, 1983, 109–50.

[7] M.Beresford and J Hurst, ed., *Deserted Medieval Villages*, 1971.

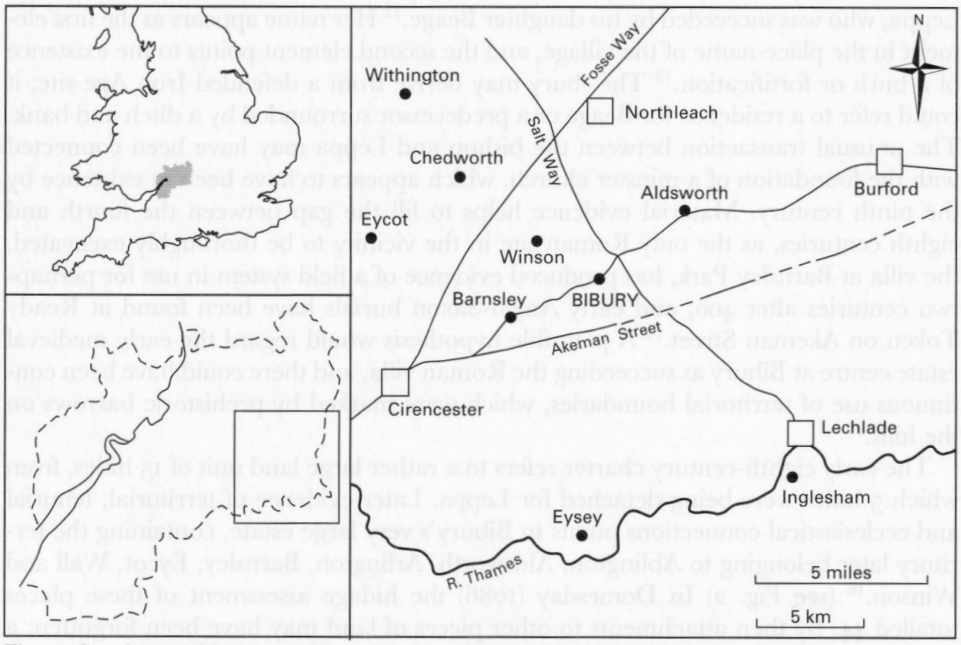


Fig. 1. South-east Gloucestershire, showing the location of Bibury and various places with which it was connected.

William Morris, which helped to persuade the outside world to admire and visit the village and the Cotswold region.[8] In modern times the church, Bibury Court, the cottages and their picturesque setting provide the attraction. In early periods the sheltered river valley with its meadow, and the cultivable land and good pasture on the hills encouraged settlement. This is demonstrated in prehistoric and Roman times by archaeological evidence of scatters of flint and pottery, and of earthworks and crop marks. The prehistoric burial mounds are found on the hills, and the Romano-British settlements both on the upland and in the valley.[9] There were good communications in the Roman period and the middle ages, with Akeman Street running from Cirencester along the southern edge of Bibury, and the main road north-east from Cirencester crossing the river Coln and heading in the direction of Burford, Oxford and London. A salt way crossed the hills north of the village running from north- west to south-east.[10] (see Fig. 1)

It was much more than a well-sited village, but an important central place in south-east Gloucestershire—a Roman villa, an earlier fortified centre, a minster church, and the head of both a large estate and a hundred. The Iron Age fort of Rawbarrow in the valley south of Ablington may have been an early centre of authority over that part of the Coln valley, and in the Roman period an opulent villa stood near the river at Bibury mill.[11] In the early eighth century a grant of land was made to an aristocrat,

[8] J.A. Gibbs, *A Cotswold Village*, 1898; *VCH Glos*, VII, 23.

[9] Gloucestershire County Council, Sites and Monuments Record (hereafter SMR).

[10] *VCH Glos*, VII, 23–4.

[11] SMR, areas 84 and 366; Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England), *Iron Age and Romano-British Monuments in the Gloucestershire Cotswolds*, 1976, 13–14.

Leppa, who was succeeded by his daughter Beage.[12] Her name appears as the first element in the place-name of the village, and the second element points to the existence of a burh or fortification.[13] The -bury may derive from a defended Iron Age site; it could refer to a residence for Beage or a predecessor surrounded by a ditch and bank. The unusual transaction between the bishop and Leppa may have been connected with the foundation of a minster church, which appears to have been in existence by the ninth century. Material evidence helps to fill the gap between the fourth and eighth centuries, as the only Roman site in the vicinity to be thoroughly excavated, the villa at Barnsley Park, has produced evidence of a field system in use for perhaps two centuries after 400, and early Anglo-Saxon burials have been found at Ready Token on Akeman Street.[14] A plausible hypothesis would regard the early medieval estate centre at Bibury as succeeding the Roman villa, and there could have been continuous use of territorial boundaries, which were marked by prehistoric barrows on the hills.[15]

The early eighth-century charter refers to a rather large land unit of 15 hides, from which 5 hides were being detached for Leppa. Later evidence of territorial, tenurial and ecclesiastical connections points to Bibury's very large estate, containing the territory later belonging to Ablington, Aldsworth, Arlington, Barnsley, Eycot, Wall and Winson.[16] (see Fig. 2) In Domesday (1086) the hidage assessment of these places totalled 44. By then attachments to other pieces of land may have been forgotten: a charter of 855 implies an association with Poulton and Eysey to the south of Bibury, later in Wiltshire.[17] The original name of the estate in the eighth and ninth centuries was *Cunuglae* or Coln, after the river, which has survived as a name for villages up stream such as Coln St Denis. Like many river-based estates, its boundaries ran along the watersheds which separated the Coln valley from the Windrush valley to the north, and from the Thames valley to the south. Originally the estate's lord presumably exploited the resources of its 15 square miles by collecting tributes in kind from its inhabitants . More intensive impositions on land and people were more likely to develop when the estate was broken down into smaller units.

The names of the various fragments of the estate which include personal names point to a process by which parts of it were assigned to different leasehold tenants from the ninth to the eleventh centuries—Eadbald (at Ablington); Ald (at Aldsworth); Aelfred (at Arlington); and so on.[18] We do not need to rely on placename evidence

[12] W. de G. Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, 1885–99, no.166 (hereafter CS); H.P.R. Finberg, *Early Charters of the West Midlands*, 1961, 34.

[13] A.H. Smith, *The Place-names of Gloucestershire*, English Place-Name Society, 1964, part 1, 26.

[14] G. Webster, P. Fowler, B. Noddle and L. Smith,' The Excavation of a Romano-British Rural Establishment at Barnsley Park, Gloucestershire',*TB&GAS*, 103, 1985, 73–100; SMR area 2499; A. Meaney, *A Gazetteer of Early Anglo-Saxon Burial Sites*, 1964, 159.

[15] G.B. Grundy, *Saxon Charters and Field Names of Gloucestershire*, BGAS, 1935–6, 42–4.

[16] M. Hollings, *The Red Book of Worcester*, Worcestershire Historical Society, 1934– 50 (hereafter *RBW*), part 4, 369–70; *VCH Glos*, VII, 21–32. Winson was part of Bibury parish, but lay in Bradley Hundred.

[17] A. Farley, ed., *Domesday Book*, 1783 (hereafter DB), fos. 164a, 164d, 165c, 169d, 170c; CS 487; Finberg, 48. The inclusion of Poulton and Eysey would bring the total hidage near to 50, a round number.

[18] Smith, part 1, 23–7.

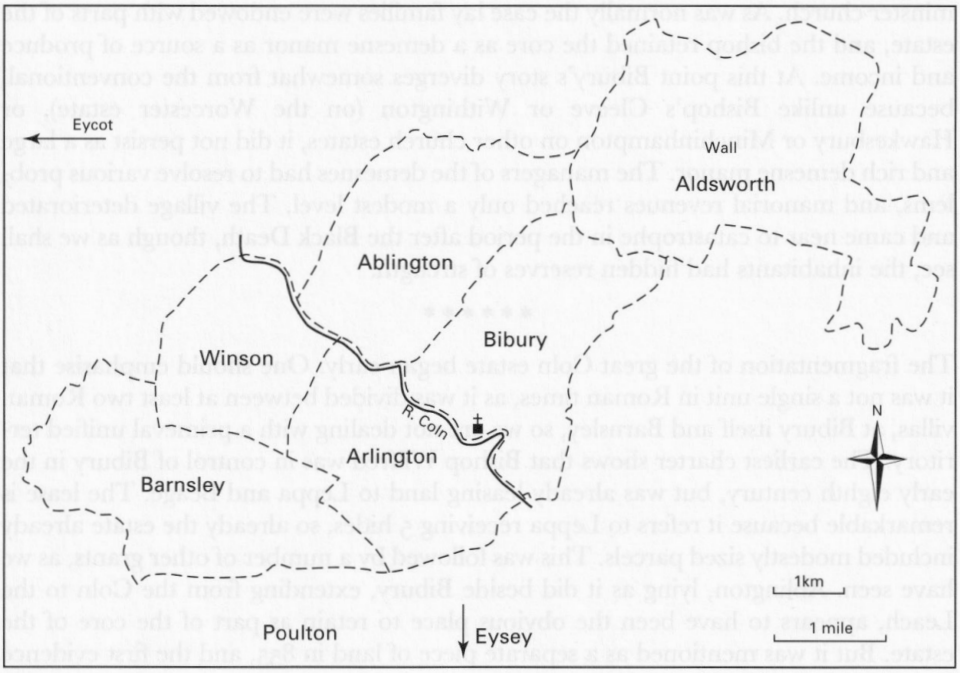


Fig. 2. The estate of Coln, at its maximum extent c. 700, with later parish boundaries.

alone for the process of assigning land to individual laymen and clergymen, as charters record grants of Barnsley in c. 800 and of Ablington in 899 and perhaps 962.[19] At the time of Domesday Bibury was a separate hundred which coincided with the great estate, which meant that a court was held for the inhabitants, with the usual responsibilities for maintaining law and order, and for acting as the local organiser of taxation and military service. Hundreds were commonly named after some meeting point away from the main settlements, such as Kiftsgate and Rapsgate both in Gloucestershire, but Bibury's hundred carried the name of the estate centre, presumably because the court met there. The choice of Bibury to be an early minster reflected its existing significance as the focus of an estate. Its pre-Conquest greatness can still be glimpsed in the fabric of the parish church, which retains large sections of a substantial building of the tenth or eleventh century, which was associated with high quality sculptures.[20] At the time of this building work the church was no longer an independent monastery but a major parish church; it still however appears in Domesday with an unusually rich endowment of 3 hides, and it would have been drawing tithes and other church revenues from much of the old estate.[21]

So far, then, Bibury's story is a conventional one of a large estate with ancient roots which had come into the hands of a prominent ecclesiastical landowner, the church of Worcester, before the Norman Conquest. The estate was served by a wealthy

[19] CS 304, Finberg, 44; CS 580, Finberg, 51; CS 1091, Finberg, 55.
[20] SMR, area 2513; H.M. and J. Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, 1965, I, 63–6.
[21] DB, 164d; *VCH Glos*, VII, 38–40.

minster church. As was normally the case lay families were endowed with parts of the estate, and the bishop retained the core as a demesne manor as a source of produce and income. At this point Bibury's story diverges somewhat from the conventional, because unlike Bishop's Cleeve or Withington (on the Worcester estate), or Hawkesbury or Minchinhampton on other church estates, it did not persist as a large and rich demesne manor. The managers of the demesnes had to resolve various problems, and manorial revenues reached only a modest level. The village deteriorated and came near to catastrophe in the period after the Black Death, though as we shall see, the inhabitants had hidden reserves of strength.

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The fragmentation of the great Coln estate began early. One should emphasise that it was not a single unit in Roman times, as it was divided between at least two Roman villas, at Bibury itself and Barnsley, so we are not dealing with a primeval unified territory. The earliest charter shows that Bishop Wilfred was in control of Bibury in the early eighth century, but was already leasing land to Leppa and Beage. The lease is remarkable because it refers to Leppa receiving 5 hides, so already the estate already included modestly sized parcels. This was followed by a number of other grants, as we have seen. Ablington, lying as it did beside Bibury, extending from the Coln to the Leach, appears to have been the obvious place to retain as part of the core of the estate. But it was mentioned as a separate piece of land in 855, and the first evidence that it was being granted away dates to 899, but the tenant was a priest, so rather than being inherited within a family it was apparently returned to the lord of Bibury when the lives expired.[22] In Domesday it is not mentioned as a separate place and a near-contemporary Worcester document shows that it was then part of the bishop's demesne manor.[23] The combination of Bibury and Ablington in 1086 explains the number of tenants and ploughs attached to Bibury, which are greater than we would expect. The bishops received a few rents and labour services from Ablington tenants in the fourteenth century, perpetuating the memory that his lordship had extended over the neighbouring village.[24] In the early twelfth century, however, Ablington was granted to the Meysi family, and passed to the d'Evercys and then the Willingtons[25], which left the bishop with the rather truncated remnant of the estate at Bibury itself, consisting of 1,800 acres and never with more than about 30 peasant tenants. (Fig. 2) This made it one of the smallest of the bishopric manors, and in 1299 for example, it was valued at £27 per annum compared with annual sums of £46, £55 and £161 from the other Gloucestershire manors of Withington, Cleeve and Henbury.[26]

[22] CS 487; CS 580.

[23] T. Hearne, ed., *Hemingi Chartularium Ecclesiae Wigorniensis*, 1723, I, 83–4.

[24] DB, 164d; 24 tenants and 11 slaves is more than would be expected of a manor with c.30 tenants in 1299, and 33 ploughs suggest more arable acres than Bibury township contained. The 2 mills presumably were situated in Bibury and Ablington. Tenants at Ablington with obligations to Bibury manor are recorded in Worcestershire Record Office (hereafter WRO), ref.009:1, BA 2636/160 92050, and Gloucestershire Record Office (hereafter GRO), D687, 1–24, 63,64.

[25] *VCH Glos*, VII, 29.

[26] *RBW*, part 4, 347, 364, 375, 401.

The obvious question is to ask why so much of the Bibury estate was granted away, and this leads us to enquire into the underlying causes of the fragmentation of land units. Magnates like the bishops were clearly under strong lay pressure, from the king as well as the aristocracy, to relinquish control of land, and while they in theory retained some benefits in terms of services and feudal dues, these seem to be poor compensation. Given that these sacrifices had to be made, one can understand why so much of Bibury, rather than a high proportion of other estates, was surrendered. It lay on the south-eastern corner of the federation of twenty properties stretched over three counties that made up the whole bishopric estate. In the later middle ages the bishops stopped maintaining a residence there as they rarely needed to travel to that part of the diocese. In the relevant period between c. 850 and 1150 pieces detached from the Coln estate were very attractive propositions for their new lay owners. The land was supporting cultivators and agriculture throughout the early middle ages, and each small subdivision could deliver revenues to a lord in produce and labour. The bishopric estates in wooded north Worcestershire, which were thinly settled and contained much uncultivated land before the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, could not be used in the same way to provide productive assets for new lords.[27]

Yet another lord acquired a major asset contained within the former Bibury estate in 1151 when John de Pagham, bishop of Worcester, granted the church of Bibury, together with all its tithes and revenues, to Osney Abbey.[28] This Augustinian house had relatively recently been established, with an estate concentrated in Oxfordshire. The order specialised in acquiring parish churches, which were served by one of their canons instead of a rector, and yielded a good income from glebes, tithes and offerings. The gift of Bibury seems an especially generous act by the bishop, as the huge parish generated an annual revenue comparable with that of the bishop's own manor. Pagham was also granting away a rectory in the bishop's patronage which his successors would have used to reward their officials and allies. Henceforth Bibury would be dominated by two large church lords, both with tenants, courts and demesnes to cultivate. One of the lords, the bishop, was remote and impersonal, but Osney was ever present, with its canon a prominent figure in the village. Pagham's motives for this grant are not known, but he was not serving the long-term interests of the bishopric.

The bishops lost the varied resources of the old Coln estate, and were left with assets that seem unbalanced in ecological and agricultural terms. Wood, meadow and grazing had all featured among the estate's assets. Barnsley's name refers to a clearing in or near woodland. Eycot, a small parcel rated at a hide, was separated from the main block of land, lay near to Colesbourne, 7 miles as the crow flies from Bibury. (Fig. 1) By 1086 this was a small manor with six tenants, two slaves and a total of four ploughs; no reference was made in the survey to wood, but it had probably once been wooded, and was presumably attached to the Coln estate for the sake of its timber and wood.[29] The charter of 855 links Ablington and Barnsley with two places in Wiltshire, one of which, Eysey, lies on the banks of the Thames surrounded with abundant meadows. (Fig. 1) This could have been the source of the Coln estate's hay in its early

[27] C. Dyer, *Hanbury: Settlement and Society in a Woodland Landscape*, University of Leicester Department of English Local History Occasional Papers, 4th ser., 4, 1991, 21.

[28] H.E. Salter, ed., *Cartulary of Osney Abbey*, V, Oxford Historical Society, 98, 1935, 1–10.

[29] DB, 164d; T. Slater,'More on the Wolds', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 5, 1979, 213–18.

years. The break down of the great estate of Coln also reduced the amount of permanent pasture available to Bibury itself. For example a large area at Aldsworth, which in modern times served as a race course, went into the hands of Gloucester Abbey, and Ablington's common on the 'downs' to the north-west of the village was presumably reserved for its own tenants after it separated in the twelfth century.[30]

By the late thirteenth century Bibury itself consisted mainly of arable land stretching for two miles between the rivers Coln and Leach. 'There is no wood there', says the survey of c.1290, which was not untypical of the Cotswolds, where woodland was very unevenly distributed.[31] Meadow was confined to the restricted flood plain of the Coln, where the damp ground and occasional rising waters encouraged the grass to grow. Broad Meadow, immediately to the east of the village, church and manor house, was a valuable asset, but it was rather narrow, being measured at 8 acres in the survey of 1299, and the other meadow of *Raynesham*, described as pasture in 1299 but meadow by 1371, was no larger.[32] Their hay was insufficient to feed all of the lord's oxen, sheep and other livestock through the winter. This was also a common Cotswold problem. The third feature of Bibury's ecology, and paradoxically for many other villages in this region famous for its sheep, was the shortage of permanent pasture.[33]

Historians once criticised those who made decisions in medieval agriculture because they cultivated a high proportion of the land, and left insufficient pasture, leading in the long run to a lack of manure for fertilising the corn fields. Now there is more appreciation of the way local resources were exploited, and the skill and care with which agriculture was managed.[34] At Bibury the bishops and their officials found ways of maintaining the balances between grain cultivation and other activities. By the thirteenth century the bishopric manor of Withington was Bibury's source of wood and timber, and the tenants of Bibury were obliged to carry wood from there.[35] In the late fourteenth century hurdles, withies, poles and timber were regularly obtained for use on the demesne from Withington woods, though alternative sources of supply included Chedworth, and at considerable distance, the bishopric manor of Ripple in Worcestershire. Even moss for filling the gaps between roofing slates was brought 7 miles from Withington woods.[36] (Fig. 1)

By the thirteenth century the bishopric paid a very modest rent of 6d to Beaulieu Abbey for access to a meadow in Inglesham (Wilts.) which each year produced between five and fifteen cartloads of hay, most commonly around ten, between 1371 and 1394.[37] The tenants' carts made a journey of about 8 miles and back to fetch this hay crop. (Fig. 1) The rectory manor of Bibury, held by Osney Abbey, also rented

[30] *VCH Glos*, VII, 9, 34.

[31] *RBW*, part 4, 376.

[32] *RBW*, part 4, 368 ; WRO, ref .009:1 BA 2636/160 92050.

[33] C. Dyer, 'Villages and Non-Villages in the Medieval Cotswolds', TB&GAS, 120, 2002, 16.

[34] M. Bailey, *A Marginal Economy? East Anglian Breckland in the Later Middle Ages*, 1989; D. Stone, *Decision-Making in Medieval Agriculture*, 2005.

[35] *RBW*, part 4, 371.

[36] WRO, 009:1 BA 2636/159 92049 2/7; 92049 4/7, 92049 5/7, 92049 6/7, 92049 7/7; /160 92050–92062.

[37] *RBW*, part 4, 368; WRO, 009:1, BA 2636, parcel and document numbers as in note 36.

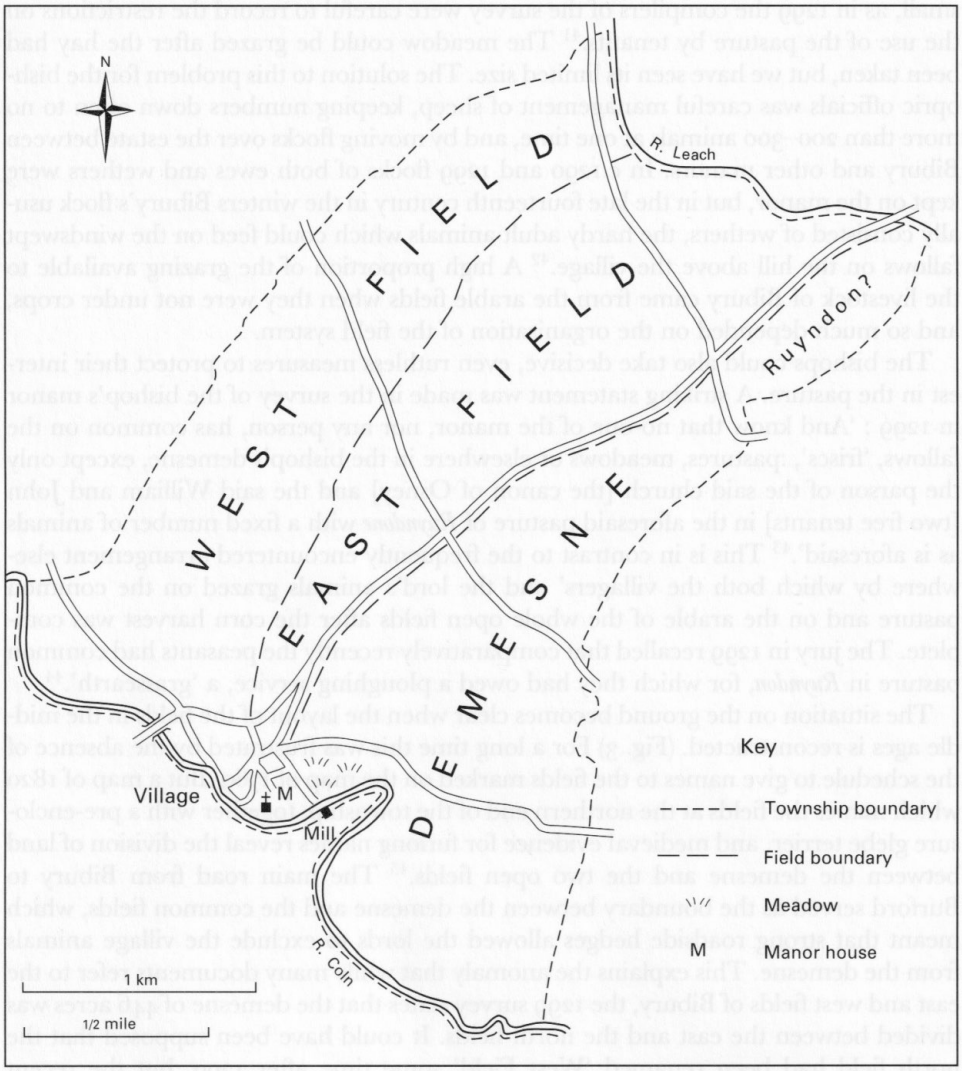

Fig. 3. The township of Bibury, with roads, fields, demesne, as they existed c. 1299.

meadows in Inglesham, from as early as 1280.[38] And when direct supply of this kind was inadequate, fodder could be bought. In a year when more sheep than usual wintered at Bibury in 1388–9, three cart loads of hay were bought at Lechlade, an urban market on the edge of the hay meadows of the Thames valley.[39]

Bibury had an area of permanent pasture, which may have been at the northern end of the township, called *Ruyndon*, which was probably the pasture rated at 80 acres in the survey of c. 1290.[40] (see Fig. 3) The bishops' officials evidently thought it too

[38] Salter, ed., *Cartulary of Osney Abbey*, VI, Oxford Historical Society, 101, 1936, 194.
[39] WRO, 009:1 BA 2636/160 92060.
[40] *VCH Glos*, VII, 34; *RBW*, part 4, 376.

small, as in 1299 the compilers of the survey were careful to record the restrictions on the use of the pasture by tenants.[41] The meadow could be grazed after the hay had been taken, but we have seen its limited size. The solution to this problem for the bishopric officials was careful management of sheep, keeping numbers down often to no more than 200–300 animals at one time, and by moving flocks over the estate between Bibury and other manors. In c.1290 and 1299 flocks of both ewes and wethers were kept on the manor, but in the late fourteenth century in the winters Bibury's flock usually consisted of wethers, the hardy adult animals which could feed on the windswept fallows on the hill above the village.[42] A high proportion of the grazing available to the livestock of Bibury came from the arable fields when they were not under crops, and so much depended on the organisation of the field system.

The bishops could also take decisive, even ruthless measures to protect their interest in the pasture. A striking statement was made in the survey of the bishop's manor in 1299 : 'And know that no-one of the manor, nor any person, has common on the fallows, 'friscs', :pastures, meadows or elsewhere in the bishop's demesne, except only the parson of the said church [the canon of Osney] and the said William and John [two free tenants] in the aforesaid pasture of *Ruyndone* with a fixed number of animals as is aforesaid'.[43] This is in contrast to the frequently encountered arrangement elsewhere by which both the villagers' and the lord's animals grazed on the common pasture and on the arable of the whole open fields after the corn harvest was complete. The jury in 1299 recalled that comparatively recently the peasants had common pasture in *Ruyndon*, for which they had owed a ploughing service, a 'grassearth'.[44]

The situation on the ground becomes clear when the layout of the fields in the middle ages is reconstructed. (Fig. 3) For a long time this was frustrated by the absence of the schedule to give names to the fields marked on the map of 1769. But a map of 1820 which names the fields at the northern end of the township, together with a pre-enclosure glebe terrier, and medieval evidence for furlong names reveal the division of land between the demesne and the two open fields.[45] The main road from Bibury to Burford served as the boundary between the demesne and the common fields, which meant that strong roadside hedges allowed the lords to exclude the village animals from the demesne. This explains the anomaly that while many documents refer to the east and west fields of Bibury, the 1299 survey states that the demesne of 446 acres was divided between the east and the north fields. It could have been supposed that the north field had been renamed 'West Field' some time after 1299, but the recent research shows that the demesne had its own field system. The separation is confirmed by the cropping of the demesne arable recorded in the accounts of the late fourteenth century, when the furlongs were often named, and such flexibilities are recorded as the cultivation of both winter sown and spring sown crops on the same furlong (*Putforlong*). While some furlongs were fallowed every other year, others were

[41] *RBW*, part 4, 368.
[42] *RBW*, part 4, 368, 376; WRO, ref.009:1 BA 2636 as in note 36.
[43] *RBW*, part 4, 368.
[44] *RBW*, part 4, 371.
[45] GRO, P44A/SD1/1; D 678; P44 MI/1. The problem of the layout of demesnes as blocks or scattered strips is discussed in D. Hall, *The Open Fields of Northamptonshire*, Northamptonshire Record Society, 38, 1995, 66–75.

rested for a longer time.[46] Such freedoms could be practised if there was no need to allow common grazing at times set by the village community. The lord's land received manure from the demesne livestock, but gained no benefit from the manure of the peasant flocks moving over the stubbles and fallows. The origin of this arrangement is a matter of speculation. Consolidated blocks of demesne on English manors were not so unusual, and they may date back to a very early date, perhaps to the time when the bishops had to protect their interests as the estate fragmented in the ninth century. The decision to exclude the peasants from the common must have been made in the late thirteenth century when the bishops' officials felt under pressure to get the maximum returns from the demesne.

The landscape of the demesne in the late thirteenth century can therefore be envisaged as a strip on the eastern side of the township, consisting predominantly of arable, assessed at 446 acres according to one survey, 322 acres by another reckoning, divided equally between two fields, and cropped in alternate years. The land was divided into ridges and furlongs, just as in any other field system. The permanent pasture lay at the northern end, and meadow to the south. In 1290 36.5 acres were called 'frisc', which usually means uncultivated arable, and that element must have much increased in the fourteenth century, as the area sown in 1371–94 fluctuated between 60 and 112 acres, which with fallow accounts for between 120 and 224 acres of arable in each year.[47] At least a hundred acres of land therefore was not being used for cultivation, which increased the amount of grazing, but how this was organised is not clear. It was estimated that Bibury could support 500 sheep in c.1290, and 300 in 1299 (but we are not told at what time of year), while in the late fourteenth century 200–300 over wintered and others, often 200 or more, came for some months in the summer.[48] There appears to have been room for more sheep than these, but if we use a calculation of the ratios between animals and sown acres we can see that the managers had shifted the balance between arable and pasture. Reckoning the number of 'animal units' for each 100 acres, it can be calculated there were probably about 35 in the 1290s, which is quite near to the national average for 'sheep-corn' husbandry at that period, and by 1380–1 the figure had risen to 65, again in line with national trends.[49] The bishops clearly regarded their sheep flocks as an asset, and invested in sheepcotes in a corner of Broad Meadow to provide the wintering flock with shelter and storage space for fodder.[50] When the demesne was leased in the fifteenth century the arable area probably diminished yet further. The bishopric retained some land for sheep pasture, and kept flocks at Bibury until the 1450s.[51] The bishopric officials were concerned that the farmer of the demesne would not keep up cultivation, and in 1451 inserted into the lease a clause requiring the farmer to leave 30 acres cultivated and manured.[52] But there is no evidence for a specialised sheep pasture on the demesne.

[46] C. Dyer, *Lords and Peasants in a Changing Society. The Estates of the Bishopric of Worcester, 680–1540*, 1980, 125–6 (hereafter *L & P*).

[47] *RBW*, part 4, 368, 375–6 ;*L & P*, 122–3.

[48] WRO, ref. 009:1 BA 2636 as in note 36.

[49] Campbell, *Seigniorial Agriculture*, 178.

[50] C. Dyer, 'Sheepcotes : evidence for medieval sheepfarming', *Medieval Archaeology*, 39, 1995, 136–64.

[51] *L & P*, 150–1.

[52] *L & P* , 210.

To sum up the history of Bibury from the lord's perspective, the enduring impression is of the early and pronounced truncation of the estate, which left the bishops with a residue of land that was both small in size and unbalanced in its assets They took measures to cope with these problems, and the demesne was able to function for many years, maintaining an adequate pastoral dimension. The poor return from the lord's cultivation became a serious problem in the late fourteenth century in an age of low prices and high wages. Officials calculated the annual 'value' of arable husbandry as 11s 4½d, compared with £11 for wool. And this gloom is confirmed in the late fifteenth century when the Bibury demesne was rented for £4 per annum, which amounts to 2d–3d per acre.[53] Even in an age of low land values this leasehold rent still comes near to the bottom of any league table.

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So far we have focused on the lord's demesnes and their management, and must turn to the peasant community, which is not so well documented. The peasants appear to have been disadvantaged because they were excluded from the pasture of *Ruyndon* , and there is no record of a common meadow, pasture or wood, unless they were able to share the Ablington pasture or allowed access to Withington wood. There is no hint that they were experiencing great difficulties in 1299, when the survey shows eight tenants with yardland holdings, each of which contained about 48 acres of arable, and there were also three holdings larger than a yardland, thirteen with half-yardlands (24 acres), one with 32 acres, two with 16, and five cottagers.[54] So 28 of the 32 tenant holdings, an unusually high proportion for the period, had enough land in normal harvest years to feed their families and have a surplus for sale.[55] An explanation for the number of quite large holdings, especially with a yardland and above, and the high acreage of the yardland (which elsewhere averaged 30 acres), must be that the land was judged to be not very productive. The land lay divided between the two fields above the village, in which it would be cultivated in alternate years. The generous allowance for fallowing gave space and time for the sheep to graze, and to deposit the manure which could put some heart into the soil.

Bibury peasants around 1300 may well have adapted their farming to their circumstances, and made an adequate living from the land. Seven free tenants paid modest sums in rent, but the customary tenants, especially the eighteen tenants of yardlands and half-yardlands, owed a combination of cash and commuted labour which came to about 19s per yardland per annum. Probably by 1299, and certainly soon after that date, the labour services would have been mainly converted into cash payments. This standard rent of 19s, equivalent to 5d per acre was higher than those paid by many of their Cotswold contemporaries, which often amounted to about 4d per acre.[56] The rent was a burden, but on the other hand the lord would have not set it at that level unless he expected that they could pay. People were not driven away by their conditions, judging from the persistence of families—of the sixteen surnames

[53] *L & P*, 140, 142, 147, 169.

[54] *RBW*, part 4, 369–75.

[55] C. Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages*, 1989, 118–27.

[56] Dyer, 'Villages and Non-Villages', 29. Bibury rents were near to 5d. per acre. In other nearby villages they were often 4d. per acre or below.

in the Bibury tax list of 1327, at least seven were recorded belonging to tenants 28 years earlier.[57] Twenty people contributed to the tax in 1327, a high number for a small place with probably no more than 40 households (allowing for Osney's tenants as well as the bishop's), and their assessments, which averaged just under 2s, again showed that they owned livestock and taxable goods, and therefore had a capacity to pay. The sums of money paid in rents and taxes reminds us of the importance of the market for the peasants. We have seen how the lords practised a degree of self-sufficiency by securing supplies of hay, wood and timber from their own resources. But the demesne grain was sold in the thirteenth century, most likely in Cirencester, which was the largest town in the vicinity, and wool usually went over a longer distance to a specialist merchant. The peasants would have sold their produce locally, again in Cirencester but they probably also travelled to the small market towns of Burford, Lechlade and Northleach. Tithe payments show that they grew a great deal of barley and dredge, the main brewing grains.[58]

The same optimism cannot be applied to the Bibury peasants after 1349. They suffered a disastrous mortality in the Black Death, and only 7 out of 22 customary tenants remained in the autumn of 1349, implying a death rate above 70 per cent.[59] Numbers recovered in the next 30 years, as 22 households were assessed for the 1381 poll tax (which included tenants of both manors) but the number of people holding land on the bishop's manor slipped back to about twelve in the rental of 1431, and by 1544 a list of tenants contains twelve names, but only ten at most held land in Bibury itself.[60] The bishop's manorial records depict a difficult situation resembling that on other manors, but with even more acute problems—rents were drastically reduced, entry fines became merely token payments, yet holdings often lay for a time 'in the lord's hands' because no-one wished to take them. Holdings were broken up into parcels to make them more rentable. Those who did take Bibury holdings sometimes lived elsewhere—at Northleach for example. There was a rapid turnover in tenants, and almost all of the old families died out or moved away. Buildings fell into decay, and the lord reduced rents to encourage tenants to pay for repairs. The mill was left in ruins, presumably because there were not enough consumers of flour in the village. There is not much information about the fields, but we can be sure that the east and west fields of the village, like the demesne fields to the east, were cultivated in patches, with large area under grass. Grain growing required scarce labour resources, and the price of corn did not reward the effort of producing much more than the needs of the peasants' households.

The court rolls of the lords of the manor should not always be taken as a fully accurate reflection of village society. We have already noted that there were two manors at Bibury, so the bishop's court had jurisdiction over only part of the community. Some records survive for both manorial courts, and they both seem brief and

[57] Franklin, ed., *The Taxpayers of Medieval Gloucestershire*, 1993, 51.

[58] Bodleian Library, MS. D D Ch Ch O R 132. The Osney Abbey barn at Bibury in the early fourteenth century contained 80 quarters of wheat, 220 of barley, 200 of dredge (barley and oats mixed) and 20 of oats. The grain was mainly from tithes, and therefore reflected peasant crops.

[59] *L & P*, 238.

[60] *L & P*, 240; WRO, ref 009:1 BA 2636/18 43765, fo. 45r.

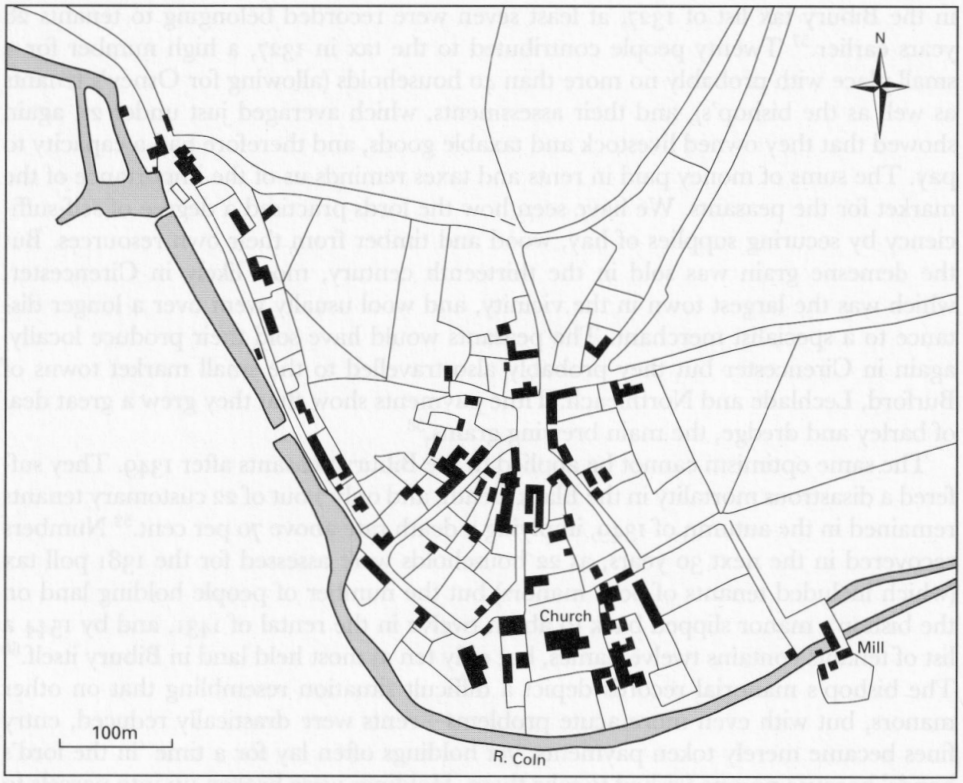

Fig. 4. A simplified plan of the village of Bibury, as depicted on the map of 1769.

uninformative.[61] Why did the Bibury courts not issue numerous bye laws and enforce them? It is hard to believe that this manor could have escaped the often fierce competition between the demands of pastoral and arable farming which troubled so many communities, leading to constant complaints of overburdened commons and other breaches of the regulations concerning livestock.[62] Perhaps the estate officials, who only came to hold the courts once a year, took no great interest in the affairs of this small, remote and unprofitable place, and did not encourage the participation of the tenants in the court that generated so much business elsewhere. The tenants, who were limited in number, may have found ways of settling their disputes over pasture, and maintained order in a village meeting, as divided lordship meant that neither lord's court commanded much respect.[63]

Some tenants acquired large holdings of two or three yardlands, and were keeping larger numbers of animals, which were causing problems: in 1432 William Jonys was accused of allowing his 80 sheep and two cows to trespass on the lord's land, and in the following year Thomas Benet, perhaps with the same end in mind, was said to

[61] GRO, D 678, as in note 24; Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ms. DD Ch Ch O.R. 127, 130.

[62] E. Miller, ed., *Agrarian History of England and Wales*, III, *1348–1500*, 1991, 210–11, 236–8.

[63] C. Dyer, 'The Political Life of the Fifteenth-Century English Village', *Fifteenth Century*, 4, 2004, 142.

have broken into the lord's close.[64] So perhaps some of the tenants were putting the uncultivated land in the open fields to good use, as Osney Abbey seems to have done—by virtue of its rights as holder of the glebe it was pasturing 238 wethers at Bibury, mainly on the village fields, in 1477.[65]

The village plan suggests an alternative perspective on Bibury's development. (see Fig. 4) The earliest representation is the map of 1769, which records streets and plot boundaries established at a much earlier period. Although people had been living on the banks of the Coln for many centuries before the foundation of the Roman villa (its site lay to the east of the medieval mill), we should not suppose that the lords' residence or the minster church of the eighth and ninth centuries were surrounded by closely packed peasant houses, as the nucleated village of Bibury, like many others, may have formed a century or two later. The settlement fell into four parts. To the east lay the centres of religion and lordship, with the parish church, Bibury Court (probably on the site of the bishop's manor house), the Osney Abbey manor and the mill. Immediately to the west stood a cluster of houses, which presumably were the successors of many of the medieval tenants' messuages. One expects that the holdings which were most dependent on the manor, those of the cottagers and *enchlonds* (the tenants of which performed specialist services on the demesne) had been established here. They are not recorded until 1299, but may well go back to the twelfth century or earlier. The third element was the single row of houses facing the village street and the river, known as Bywell, which resembles the planned villages (likely to be at least as old as the twelfth century) so characteristic of the region.[66] The fourth element is the most unusual, as on the northern edge of the main village cluster lies the Square, a small open space on which no less than seven roads and lanes converge. It resembles a market place, and even has at its southern end buildings jutting into the space, as if the result of infilling when temporary stalls were converted into permanent structures. It is of course possible that this piece of village planning belongs to some modern phase of improvement, such as might have occurred in the seventeenth century when Bibury Court was being rebuilt, but one is reminded that much earlier markets were often connected with estate centres, hundred meeting sites, and minster churches.[67] If a market was held in this space, it was not sanctioned by royal authority, as no market charter is known, but perhaps its origins lay in some pre-Conquest institution, and the bishop or Osney Abbey later organised the layout of streets and buildings around it.

The market place theory is supported by some hints of commercial activity at Bibury in the later middle ages. In 1327 one of the contributors to the lay subsidy, Robert le Chapman, carried an occupational name, meaning trader or merchant.[68] In the views of frankpledge (courts leet) which enforced the assize of ale (a price regulating measure), Bibury is recorded in the late fourteenth century with an unusual number of ale sellers for a village of twenty households, with nine brewers in 1383, eight in 1384 and 1388, and seven in 1389. In the fifteenth century, as happened

[64] GRO, D678, 64.
[65] D. Postles, 'The Oseney Abbey Flock', *Oxoniensia*, 49, 1984, 150.
[66] Dyer, 'Villages and Non-Villages', 11–13.
[67] Blair, *Church*, 259–68.
[68] Franklin, 51.

elsewhere, the number of brewers breaking the assize fell to between one and five each year. In 1439 and 1441 the significantly named William Bochour was fined for selling meat excessively.[69] The poll tax of 1381 reveals a remarkable variety of non-agricultural occupations for such a small place. A total of 52 people paid tax (including a group caught in a second enquiry after widespread evasion had been discovered) and they belonged to about 22 households.[70] Eight of the households were headed by men described as *cultures*, which could be translated as cultivators, husbandmen or peasants. Most of these appear in contemporary manorial records holding a yardland. Four labourers and two shepherds presumably held cottages or other smallholdings. No less than eight of the households were headed by artisans or traders, namely three carpenters, a smith, a tailor, a brewer, a butcher, and a mysterious 'merchant' called Nailor (his first name is not legible) who paid 2s 4d for himself and his wife instead of the standard 2s , and who makes no appearance in the contemporary manorial documents. A number of these people had dual occupations, in that they held land and practised a craft or trade, but nonetheless the choice of the tax assessors to identify such a group of people by their non-agricultural occupations suggests that Bibury had a special character, and one for which there is little hint in the manorial court records.

The court records also give little indication of the transformation in Bibury's social structure between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries. In 1299 and 1327 one gains an impression of a society of equals, with about twenty households making an adequate though modest living from their yardlands and half yardlands. The court rolls and rental of the fifteenth century show the accumulation of holdings in the hands of a few tenants, though one is given no strong indication that they were prospering on the basis of their cheap land. Wealth was distributed among the seventeen taxpayers in 1525 with a high degree of inequality.[71] The richest villager with goods worth £100, as is so often the case at this time, was the farmer, but not of the bishop's demesne: Richard Bagot leased the assets of the Osney Abbey rectory. The seven men taxed on wages, an unusually high proportion, who paid the minimum of 4d, probably included his employees. Smallholders and wage earners were represented by three tax payers with good assessed at £2, but the remainder were taxed on goods worth £3, £4, two with £7, £11 and £18. We do not know what proportion of their modest substance came from their management of corn and sheep on the much altered common fields, and how much from some commercial enterprise based on the Square, but they show that Bibury was not totally depressed.

* * * * * *

This enquiry has applied a broad brush over the development of a section of the countryside over more than a thousand years, using landscape as evidence as well as documents. In many ways Bibury's past has followed a conventional route, but its special features—the drastic degradation of the great early medieval Coln estate, the problems of balancing the farming system faced by lords and peasants alike, peasant

[69] GRO, D 678, as in note 24.

[70] C. Fenwick, ed., *The Poll Taxes of 1377, 1379 and 1381*, British Academy, Records of Social and Economic History, new ser, 27, 1998, 294.

[71] TNA:PRO, E179/ 113/213.

adjustment to new circumstances after 1349—all throw light on wider changes in society.

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VII

St James's Priory and Parish, Bristol

DAVID WALKER

IT WAS always a boyhood pleasure to take my bicycle and to explore different areas, and especially the central areas, of the old city of Bristol. One route was to cycle from Clifton to the Victoria Rooms and on to Park Row and Maudlin Street, and then, at the Infirmary, to turn into Lower Maudlin Street and, almost literally, descend down to the Horsefair and the old city. On that slope below the hospital, was the church of St James with its churchyard. A large flow of traffic passes round the boundary of that church yard today, though few drivers would now risk even the briefest of glances at the graveyard and church.

The story of the church and its setting, reviewed in this nostalgic survey, is in large measure, familiar territory.[1] In the 19th and 20th centuries it was the parish church of one of the most disadvantaged areas in Bristol.[2] From an earlier age it was a tangible link with the Norman lord of Bristol, Henry I's bastard son, Robert, Earl of Gloucester.[3] In the critical days of conflict over the succession to Henry I's throne Robert was an ardent supporter of his half-sister, Matilda's claims, and on Stephen's death in 1154, the crown passed, not to his heir, but to her son, Henry II.

St James was in origin a Benedictine priory. Earl Robert and his wife, Mabel, had close links with Tewkesbury abbey and its dependant house at Cranborne. Under their patronage St James was to be a secondary dependancy. Robert had planned the foundation at an early stage. It is a familiar story that in order to build the castle at Bristol he secured a substantial delivery of fine stone from Normandy and that he contributed a tithe of that stone for his priory church with the intention of using it to build the Lady Chapel. His son, Earl William was lavish in his gifts:[3] land at Ashley, a tithe of his revenues from his mills at Rumney (Glamorgan), a market and prisage at Bristol and a fair in the city at Pentecost, a prisage of wine and other goods imported to Bristol from overseas, and, in Normandy, the church of Ecrammeville (Calvados).

[1] *VCH Gloucestershire,*1907, II, Rose Graham contributed detailed studies of the abbey of Tewkesbury (61–66) and St James's priory (pp74–75); J. Bettey, 'The Benedictine Foundation' in R.K. Morris & R. Shoesmith, eds., *Tewkesbury Abbey: History, Art & Architecture,* 2003, 41–52.

[2] The parish church has recently been discussed by Frances Neale, 'William Worcestre: Bristol Churches in 1480', *Historic Churches and Church Life in Bristol, ed.* J. Bettey, 29–54.

[3] Earl Robert's career is examined in detail in a number of well-known books, notably in two standard works, Marjorie Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda, Queen Consort, Queen Mother and Lady of the English,* and H.A. Cronne, *The Reign of Stephen 1135–54, Anarchy in England.* A very brief recent study by David Crouch is a biography in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* which concentrates on his political significance and does not explore his links with Bristol.

It was in the chancel of that church that in due course Earl Robert was buried. The priory was established, not in the developed area of Bristol, but on new land, in an area which could be described in a charter issued in the second half of the 12th century by Hawise, Countess of Gloucester, as 'a new borough'.[4] There she had a burgage tenure which she gave to the monks. Her husband, William, Earl of Gloucester, used similar language in a charter which provided that a new borough *de Prato* should be the parish of St James.[5] It was an early step in the long progression towards recognition of the priory as a parish church in that newly-developed area.

When the Earls of Gloucester endowed the priory, clerics who had served them followed their example. One priest, Thurstan, served Earl Robert, who gave him the church of St Owen, in Bristol, and in due course Thurstan gave this church to St James. The most spectacular, and in some senses the most controversial, of these subsidiary grants were those made by Picard, a cleric who served Earl Robert and was still in Earl William's service as late as 1171. He gave to St James his churches in Cornwall- including St Breock, Egloshayle, Crowan, Trevalga, and St Germoe—but there was some hesitancy in his gift. He sought to continue holding these churches and to pay rent for them to the priory, and he was anxious to pass on to his brother a title to some part of his Cornish holdings.[6]

The priory church became popular in two respects. The choir was essentially for the use and worship of the monks. There they maintained their discipline of prayer and praise. The nave, here as in many other monastic churches, became a popular venue for the local population. A similar situation prevailed at their parent abbey at Tewkesbury, where the monks provided for the care of those who had recourse to their nave. A fine point was whether they could receive a sacramental ministry from a member of the monastic community, or whether that could only be administered by a secular priest. In 1242, William de Cantelupe, Bishop of Worcester, seeking to regularise what he regarded as an unsatisfactory solution for a pastoral issue, proposed the appointment of ordained priests at Tewkesbury and Bristol duly authorised to minister to these irregular congregations. When the abbot of Tewkesbury put up a strong defence, the bishop had to yield and the monks in both houses were able to maintain their current practice.

At an early stage, the monks of St James were given a particular duty. They provided a monk to celebrate mass every day in the chapel of St Martin in the outer ward of Bristol castle.[7] This practice became a permanent part of the routine of castle life. It was still being maintained in the fifteenth century, though William Worcestre noted, with disapproval, that by then, the monk of St James celebrated only on Sunday, Wednesday and Friday of each week.[8]

In practice, the priory's function was effectively to provide a garrison chaplaincy. The monks' services were regarded as an integral part of the life of the castle, but they also contributed to the normal pattern of life in the town. For the citizens, this

[4] *Earldom of Gloucester Charters*, ed. R.B. Patterson, no. 39.
[5] ibid. no. 205.
[6] ibid. no. 206.
[7] ibid. nos. 202, 203.
[8] It would be more precise to say that the monk carried the sacrament and administered it in the chapel.

regular progress to the castle was a daily reminder of a distant past when Bristol and its castle had played a central role in the politics of the kingdom.

The major feature of Earl Robert's castle was the great keep which dominated the city. Linked with this keep was a later addition, a second chapel, which William Worcestre described as 'another splendid chapel for the King and the lords and ladies'. It was sited 'in the most important ward on the north side of the hall, where very beautiful chambers were built'. William had to add that, in his day, the chapel was 'roofless, bare and stripped of floors and ceilings'.[9] Long after the castle had fallen out of use it was claimed that decorative fragments of the chapel or of William's 'beautiful chambers' survived in local shops in Castle Street until the heavy air raids of the Second World War caused such widespread damage.

To have a chapel serving those who lived in the keep and a second chapel elsewhere in the castle was by no means a feature unique to Bristol. One parallel among many would be Rochester castle, where one chapel was sited in the keep and a second chapel—Bridge chapel—was sited over a castle entry and projected outside the perimeter wall. If there is an unusual feature about Bristol castle it is that the main chapel was not incorporated within the keep itself, but within the security of an inner ward.

At the end of the 15th century William Worcestre was free to measure distances up to the walls and gates of the castle, but he could not gain access to the castle to make his own measurements inside the defences. For that he had to rely upon information from the porter in charge of the stronghold.[10] The castle remained in royal hands until the seventeenth century. It was as late as 1629–30 before the mayor and corporation were able to secure the castle. By that date the crown owed the borough £759, and the corporation hoped that for that sum they could purchase the castle. They underestimated the tenacity of the royal agents and they had still to offer the king an additional £200 before the transfer of the castle to the borough could be achieved. Even then, the unpalatable fact remained that the king had previously let the castle on a lease for three lives for £120 a year, and the council had to buy that lease for £522 10 0d before their title was established.[11]

The priory nave survived the problems of the 16th century. Its function as a parish church saved it from desecration and it remained as a central feature of what, in the 18th century, could be identified as a prosperous and fashionable part of the city.

Adjoining the tower of the church a small group of substantial houses was built. They survived the war and were eventually demolished in 1961. A very distinguished Georgian house, built in 1728, became the town house of Sir Abraham Elton, of Clevedon, and was seriously considered as a suitable mansion house for Bristol's mayor. The whole interior of the square, St James's churchyard, the Haymarket of earlier years, was a fine open space for business and for festivities. The area was splendidly maintained, a good area in which to live, and a good area for business and for recreation.

[9] F. Neale, *William Worcestre: The Topography of Medieval Bristol*, Bristol Record Society, vol. 81, p240, no. 422.

[10] William's critical comments are an extension of the record cited in ref. 9.

[11] *City Chamberlains' Accounts in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries*, Bristol Record Society, vol. XXIV, pp.xiv, xxiii, 37, 39, 106.

The 20th century was to bring a very different story. At the foot of the hill, at Broadmead, as part of the refashioning of Bristol's central shopping zone, Lewis's planned their Haymarket store. The site on which they built in the 1950s extended northwards to the road on which the church of St James stood. The whole of the old St James's churchyard, the Haymarket square, was absorbed.

Well might the question be asked: what, apart from the parish, can the name of St James stand for in a modern Bristol? Drive a car, and the answer is at hand. In a network of roundabouts, and new roads, which lead to the city centre, there is one large and quite formidable roundabout prominently named 'St James Roundabout'. I am inclined to think that the bicycle and the old road system had much to commend them and I am greatly relieved to know that the church itself survives and is flourishing.

VIII

Cheltenham Manorial Court 1608

JILL BARLOW

WE COMPLAIN today about the rules and regulations that restrict our everyday lives and the countless ways in which the authorities manage to extract money from us. The same was true 400 hundred years ago when people subject to local custom, common law and statute law found it administered by overlapping jurisdictions of manor courts, quarter sessions, church courts and royal courts. This essay looks in detail at a small part of the picture—the manor court records of Cheltenham for the early years of the reign of James I and in particular the court held on 1 April 1608 headed 'view of frankpledge with court baron of the manor and hundred of Cheltenham' which covered at one sitting all the types of business traditionally associated with manor courts.[1]

Cheltenham at the time was leased from the king by William Norwood, a local landowner whose family for centuries held land in Leckhampton. His brother Henry was steward of the manor and conducted the courts. The manor and hundred, granted to the Abbess of Syon by Henry V with a wide range of rights and privileges, had reverted to the Crown at the Dissolution. When Norwood's lease expired in 1616, Cheltenham became the property of the Prince of Wales, the future Charles I. The manor and hundred, according to the local men giving evidence to the King's surveyor, John Norden, in 1617 had 'anciently and by all their tymes been used and enjoyed togither'.[2] The hundred contained the parishes of Cheltenham, Leckhampton and Swindon, eight tithings and the borough of Cheltenham.

By the early 17th century the division of responsibility between manor, parish and justices of the peace varied from place to place across the country. Local custom 'beyond which the memory of man runneth not to the contrary' as testified on oath by elderly tenants, had the force of law within each individual manor but many areas which had traditionally been the responsibility of manor courts, like the repair of highways and the sale of ale, had been standardised at a national level by Tudor legislation and were governed by statute though still enforced by the manor court. Felonies were tried by the justices; churchwardens' duties were increased by successive acts aimed at the control of vagrants and 'sturdy beggars'; church courts dealt with a wide variety of matters from wills and marriage disputes to immorality, slander, heresy and non-attendance at church; civil cases could be taken to the royal

[1] GRO D855/m8. The previous court book contains records of courts up to March 1602, this one does not start until December 1607. The stereotyped business of the court is still recorded in Latin but if a point needs clarifying or is out of the ordinary the clerk has a welcome tendency to lapse into English and quote the words used in the court room.

[2] Copy in GRO D855/m7, bound into the back of an Elizabethan court book.

courts and Cheltenham disputes appear among the records of Star Chamber and the Exchequer. However, the lord of the manor had a financial incentive for retaining as much business as possible and in Cheltenham the manor court continued to thrive.

The quoted penalty (*pena*) for disobeying a statute or local bye-law was frequently reduced by the court and the actual fine or amercement imposed could be much less. The reductions could be a substantial proportion of the penalties due: at the leet court of October 1608 the total due was £27 but this was reduced (*qualificatur*) by £15 15s 8d. In fact the small fines imposed regularly on the same alehouse keepers, bowls players and house owners seem more like a licence to continue ignoring the statute (and paying the fines) than a serious attempt to punish.

Some aspects of the court's business had not changed for centuries. All those holding land in the manor, whether or not they lived there, owed 'suit of court' and were expected to attend the court unless they arranged for someone to represent them or paid in advance to be excused. If they failed to appear they were fined 2d a time. In April 1608 these fines were worth 6s to the lord of the manor.

Customary tenants, who held their land 'according to the custom of the manor', paid 'tithing silver', usually 3d per messuage, as part of their rent. The sum was fixed by ancient custom and in some tithings had not varied since at least 1334.[3] There was however evidence that not all tenants were content to continue the custom: in April 1609 Thomas Marden was fined 6d for refusing to pay. Twice a year 34s 2d was paid to the manor steward but in 1608, according to the summary in the court book, it counted as rent due to the king rather than a perquisite of the lord of the manor.

Customary rents also included 'worksilver', the monetary equivalent of work which tenants had once been obliged to do on the lord's land, and two separate amounts which were described in a 1604 survey of Cheltenham as 'great rent' and 'little rent'.[4] This confused even the jurors giving evidence to John Norden who, when asked the difference, replied that 'the same rents show their own difference and do distinguish themselves in that the one rent is greater or more than the other, the reason of difference they know not'. In Norden's survey the two rents are added together and quoted as one figure.

ALEHOUSES

Inns and alehouses were 'not meant for entertainment or harbouring of lewd or idle people to spend or consume their money or time there'.[5] From Magna Carta onwards attempts had been made to standardise the price, quality and measures of ale but customary and statutory measures continued to co-exist. In 1603 an act specified that ale and beer were to be sold by the same measure—the ale quart.[6] The penalty was 20s for each offence.

The foundation of modern licensing law was laid in 1552 by the *Act for Keepers of Alehouses to be bound by Recognisances* which required anyone wishing to sell ale and beer to

[3] PRO SC2/175/25. The earliest court roll we have for Cheltenham.
[4] PRO E178/7205.
[5] Michael Dalton paraphrasing the 1603 act in *The Countrey Justice* (5th edition, 1635), p. 25.
[6] 1 James I c. 9.

give a bond to the justices of the peace 'against the using of unlawful games as also for the using and maintenance of good order and rule'.[7]

Only one inn, the Crowne, was named in Cheltenham at the time but at least a dozen 'common tipplers' (sellers of ale) were regularly fined between 6d and 3s 4d for selling ale without licence, for failing to sell the ale-quart (12d) or for allowing cards and backgammon to be played in their houses (6d-12d).[8] The card players themselves were fined less frequently, though in 1608 several yeomen from Charlton Kings were fined 6d.

More regularly fined were the players of bowls. From the time of Edward III, kings had banned any sport which might distract men from their archery practice. Under Henry VIII no apprentice, artisan or labourer was permitted to play any of a long list of games except at Christmas, although a nobleman or anyone possessing lands worth £100 a year could obtain a licence to play bowls on his own property.[9] The bowling alley, which would have been a long strip of grass, was a recognised feature in Cheltenham: in 1609 two men were ordered to make 'les Rayles' between their houses and the end of the bowling alley. The most regular player was Henry Bowen the miller, accompanied by smiths, shoemakers, a glover and a baker but also by a wealthy mercer and on at least one occasion by William Panton the curate of the parish church.[10] The statutory penalty was 6s 8d but the court reduced it to 12d.

Other games for which men were fined in Cheltenham were cayles (skittles) and trappe (trap ball), but not football, although the existence of a Footeball Close implies that games did take place.

HIGHWAYS

Another area of national concern was the state of the highways which were described in the 1555 *Act for the amending of highways* as noisome, tedious and dangerous.[11] To remedy this situation every parish was to appoint two supervisors each year who would choose four days for highway repair. 'Every person for every ploughland in tillage or pasture … and every other person keeping there a draught or plough, shall find and send at every day and place to be appointed for the amending of the ways … one wain or cart … and also two able men with the same'. Every other able bodied person was to go himself or send a labourer to do four days work. This was later increased to six days. The steward for the leet was to 'assess such reasonable fines and amerciaments … as shall be thought meet'.

Ten highway supervisors reported to the Cheltenham court: two each for the parishes of Cheltenham, Leckhampton and Swindon, two for the tithing of Charlton Kings and two for the remaining tithings. In October 1608 they presented ten men (fined 2s or 10s) for not supplying carts at the appointed place and time, and eleven

[7] 5 & 6 Edward VI c. 25.

[8] PRO E178/7205. The 1604 survey of Cheltenham lists 'the signe of the Crowne' as part of the property of Thomas Gough.

[9] 3 Henry VIII c. 3 and 33 Henry VIII c. 6.

[10] Henry Bowen and William Panton appear elsewhere in the court rolls. The occupations of the others come from John Smith, ed., *Men and Armour for Gloucestershire in 1608* (1980).

[11] 2 & 3 Philip and Mary c. 8.

for not working (6d or 1s). A further seven Charlton Kings men whose supervisors had failed to report them the previous year were also fined. The resulting total of £3 12s was given to the churchwardens to pay for the repair of highways.

Obstruction of the highway was a frequent problem. Richard Hornedge dug a saw-pit (fortunately the clerk supplied an English translation for the vague Latin *fossatum*) and put stones and blocks of wood in the highway. For this he was fined 6d whereas William Baughan was threatened with a penalty of 5s if he failed to remove his 'encroachment'.

HOUSING

Vagrants and beggars were also the subject of much legislation. The 1601 Poor Law was administered by the parish but its effects could be seen in the manor court.[12] Robert Bycke was fined for taking in tenants without providing sufficient security that they would not become a burden on the parish. He was liable to a penalty of £5 but this was reduced to 5s.

There was a constant concern that those unable to support themselves should not be allowed to settle and many fines were imposed for harbouring 'inmates'. The 1588 *Act against the erecting and maintaining of cottages* stated 'there shall not be any inmate or more families or households than one dwelling or inhabiting in any one cottage'.[13] The statutory penalty was 10s per month to be paid to the lord of the leet but the fines imposed ranged from 6d to 5s. The aim of the act was 'the avoiding of the great inconveniences which are found by experience to grow by the erecting and building of great numbers and multitudes of cottages which are daily more and more increased in many parts of this realm'. In a less crowded age it was possible to decree that no cottage should be built without four acres of land adjoining to enable the occupiers to be self-sufficient. Humphrey Harris, already guilty of allowing inmates, disobeyed this law too but was fined only 10s instead of the statutory £10.

It was possible to build with planning permission: Walter Parry was granted a licence to build on to his house 'a porche' 2 ft wide and 10 ft long on the lord's waste on the road in the borough of Cheltenham.

KEEPING THE PEACE

Four constables were chosen and sworn in at the October leet each year, two for Cheltenham and one each for Charlton Kings and Swindon. They were unpaid and their duties included the prevention of 'breaches of the peace, profane swearing, unlawful games, Sabbath-breaking and eating of flesh on fast-days, [dealing] with rogues and vagabonds, wandering players and breaches of trade regulations. [They] conducted whippings, ... organised the service of watch and ward and raised the hue and cry.'[14] No wonder the Cheltenham constable hoped for the support of

[12] 43 Eliz c. 2.
[13] 31 Eliz c. 7.
[14] J R Tanner, *Tudor Constitutional Documents, 1485–1603*, (2nd edition reprinted 1948), p. 510.

the townspeople. In 1607 an order required that every inhabitant 'shall keepe in theyre houses a sufficient clubbe or browne byll to assyst the constable and that every of the Inhabitants shall come furth with a clubbe or byll to assyst the constable to keepe the peace whensoever he or they shalbe required' with a penalty of 12d for every refusal to turn out when summoned.[15]

Serious breaches of the peace would have been tried at Quarter Sessions. Unfortunately we do not have their records for the period in Gloucestershire and cannot tell exactly how law abiding the people of Cheltenham were. Three 'affrays' which resulted in loss of blood came to the manor court in April 1608. All the offenders were fined 3s 4d including William Greene who attacked Thomas Greene and the said Thomas Greene who attacked the said William Greene. It sounds like an expensive family squabble. Using force against an official was a more serious offence—Robert Bycke was fined 6s 8d for attacking the bailiff who attempted to arrest him.

Two men were fined (2s and 5s) for hedge breaking (stealing wood from a hedge) and Edward Ladde was fined 6d because his wife was a 'common hedge breaker'. Another who suffered for his inability to keep his wife under control was Thomas Greene, fined 12d because she was a common scold and annoyed the neighbours. She could have been tried in a church court or perhaps have been sentenced to a ducking in the cucking stool except that a previous court had fined the inhabitants of Cheltenham for not having one. It would have been used to punish dishonest tradesmen as well as scolds. According to *The Countrey Justice*, every leet or market was required to have a cucking stool for brewers and a pillory for bakers.[16]

The business of the court is normally written up in an entirely formal and impersonal manner but on this occasion we get a glimpse of life in the court room. William Bycke, who came to court supposedly to give evidence, upset the jury and held up the business by his rude and quarrelsome language. One of the jurymen responded with equally bad language. Both were fined 2s 6d.

NUISANCES

The prevention of nuisances in the town had always been the preserve of the manor court. In a society where it was still necessary to order people to remove dung heaps from the king's highway, the cleanliness of the streets and watercourses was a constant preoccupation. Thomas Greene, either a common name or a frequent offender, was in trouble again for washing fleeces in the common stream (2s). There was a frequently ignored order forbidding owners to allow their pigs to wander in the streets on market day to the annoyance of the market people. The penalty was 3s 4d per pig but the court operated a 'two pigs for the price of one' policy and never fined an offender more than 3s 4d in total.

There was also a concern to prevent fire. One order forbade the making of fires with straw between sunset and sunrise, another required a chimney to be made 2ft

[15] Duchy of Cornwall Archives: Manorial: Miscellaneous Court Rolls: Gloucestershire: Box 2 1607–8 By permission of the Duchy of Cornwall.

[16] Dalton, p. 147.

higher than the top of the house and a further order required all the inhabitants of the hundred 'or if the Inhabitant be unhable then every Landlord' to make 'sufficient chymneys and defences for their ovens' to avoid the danger of fire.

The aletaster and two leather searchers failed to report any misdemeanours but an alehouse keeper was fined for slaughtering meat in Lent. A justice of the peace had authority to give flesh killed in Lent to the poor but the court book does not record whether the bailiff exercised the same discretion.[17]

LAND

Land in the hundred was gradually being enclosed as landowners made agreements to keep their land 'in severalty'. Some of the arrangements must have been very informal. When it was reported to the court that the inhabitants of Ham had enclosed their land several years previously they were not fined because no-one knew whether or not it had been done with the agreement of the lord and the tenants.

A court order limiting the inhabitants of Cheltenham to keeping 30 sheep in the common fields for each 20 acres they owned was accepted by all except Elizabeth Badger and Roger Holder. The reason for his disagreement became clear later in the proceedings when he was fined for keeping 100 sheep when he owned only eight acres.

The manor court continued to regulate the dates when animals could be sent to graze in the common fields; juries were still appointed to go and examine the land and settle boundary disputes; ditches still constantly needed scouring.

All property transfers had to come before the manor court and the lord was entitled to some form of payment for each transaction according to the type of tenure. Although the transfer of freehold land was governed by common law, customary land in Cheltenham was inherited by 'borough English' which meant that the property passed to the youngest son (or daughter if there were no sons). Mary Paget explains that the system worked well as long as there was plenty of undeveloped waste in the area allowing elder sons to find a living away from their father's holding.[18] By the early 17th century this was no longer the case and an heir presumptive must always have been aware of the possibility of losing his inheritance to a new baby, especially if his father remarried. Remarriages were frequent and disagreements over exactly what rights the custom of the manor gave to a new spouse led to many long running disputes. Some appeared time after time in the manor court, others were heard in higher courts.

One piece of land was the subject of a series of Exchequer cases which lasted for over 30 years. John Marden married Izod Newbridge who then married Thomas King who then married Katharine Packer who then married William Rich.[19] According to the evidence presented to John Norden: 'if any customary tenant make

[17] Dalton, p. 20.

[18] Mary Paget 'A study of manorial custom before 1625', *The Local Historian, 15,* (1982), 166–173.

[19] PRO E134 29 Eliz/East 24, PRO E134 5 Jas I/East 11 and E134 15 Jas I/Mich 10. I am grateful to David Smith for summarising this case.

his fine for his admittance and die having a wife she is to have the land or tenement whereunto her said husband was so admitted for her life and 12 years after if she shall dispose of it. And if the wife shall marry again and her husband that she shall so marry shall agree with the lord and make his fine then shall he have the land or tenement to him and his heirs.' John Marden's land therefore passed to Thomas King and then to William Rich. John Bubb, Izod Marden's grandson who would have inherited the land had she not remarried, unsuccessfully sued John and Henry, the sons of William Rich, for the inheritance. Henry, the youngest son and therefore the heir, then granted the land to Ludovic Packer, a member of a wealthy local family. John sued to get it back, claiming that Henry had never been properly admitted as a tenant and therefore had no right to grant the land, and that even if he had, according to the custom of the manor, he could not grant it to anyone except the next heir. The resulting enquiry produced entirely contrary statements about the customs of the manor from the Cheltenham jurors. John Rich's claims were found to be false and Packer kept the land.

There was so much confusion over the sale and inheritance of land that the copyholders of Cheltenham and Charlton Kings petitioned Prince Charles for leave to bring in a bill to remove 'inconvenient customs'.[20] The Cheltenham Act of 1625 clarified the rules governing the sale of copyhold land and abolished inheritance by borough English.

At the start of the 17th century local custom was giving way to statute law and in some cases the local inhabitants even seemed unsure of their own customs. There were many higher courts with both civil and criminal jurisdiction, new powers had been given to existing officials and new offices had been created. Yet the manor court in Cheltenham still covered a wide range of business: it regulated the repair of highways and the sale of ale in much the same way as it had for centuries but the offence was now 'against the statute' rather than against the order of the court; it was able to call on men with local knowledge to settle disputes between neighbours and control the use of the land for the common good; it ensured that men were ready to support the constable in keeping the peace; it punished dishonest tradesmen and those who endangered public health by polluting watercourses or caused other nuisances; it oversaw the transfer of land from one tenant to another. Justices, churchwardens and overseers of the poor had their own spheres of authority but in the manor court the bailiffs, constables, aletasters, tithing men and the neighbours who acted as jurors between them kept a close eye on the daily lives of ordinary people.

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I should like to thank David Smith, whose evening class first inspired me with enthusiasm for old documents, the Cheltenham Local History Society Latin Group for animated discussion while we translated endless court rolls, and Joe Bettey for his helpful comments on the draft of this essay.

[20] Gwen Hart, *A History of Cheltenham* Oxford, (1965).

IX

Isaac Taylor's map of Gloucestershire 1777

BRIAN SMITH

THE SOCIETY'S EDITION OF 1961

Isaac Taylor's map of Gloucestershire published in 1777 at a scale of about one inch to one mile was the first 'large-scale' map of the county. Almost half a century would pass before it was superseded. Because of its rarity and importance to local historians the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society published a facsimile at a reduced scale of 0.71 of an inch to 1 mile in *A Gloucestershire and Bristol atlas* in 1961.[1]

The initial proposal was to publish Taylor's map alone, but the Society's council decided that the *Atlas* should include additional maps of the county and plans of Bristol and other towns. Unfortunately, as with Taylor's original map, the standard of reproduction proved disappointing and at this smaller scale some of the fine detail was lost. The original is much clearer and reveals information not immediately evident from the *Atlas*, which also lacks editorial apparatus beyond referring the reader to T. Chubb's *Descriptive catalogue of the printed maps of Gloucestershire*.[2] This had been another special publication for the Society, the whole volume of the *Transactions* for 1912 being devoted to Chubb's carto-bibliography, among the earliest for any county.[3]

Thomas Chubb, who served in the Map Room of the British Museum for forty years, is best known for his comprehensive bibliography of county atlases from 1579 to 1870, which, though since revised by R.A. Skelton and Donald Hodson, remains a basic work of reference for cartographers and collectors.[4] In his Gloucestershire bibliography he explained that 'though he has used his best endeavours to make [it] absolutely complete, he fears, however, that he cannot claim for it this much-to-be-

[1] *A Gloucestershire and Bristol atlas. A selection of old maps and plans from the16th to the 19th century including the Isaac Taylor (1777) large scale map of the county in full*, Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, 1961. For further details of this edition, see the Appendix.

[2] T. Chubb, 'A descriptive catalogue of the printed maps of Gloucestershire, 1577–1911. With biographical notes and illustrations', *Trans. BGAS.* (1912).

[3] Sir H. George Fordham for Hertfordshire (1907) and Cambridgeshire (1908); William Harris for Lancashire (1907); Chubb for Wiltshire (1911) and Gloucestershire (1912). All appeared in the *Transactions* of their respective county archaeological and historical societies.

[4] T. Chubb, *The printed maps in the Atlases of Great Britain and Ireland, a bibliography, 1579–1870*, London 1927, reprinted London 1966; R.A. Skelton, *County atlases of the British Isles 1579–1850* [but completed only to 1703], London 1970; D. Hodson, *County atlases of the British Isles, vol. I, Atlases published 1704 to 1742; vol.2, Atlases published 1743–1763*, Tewin, Herts. 1984, 1989; *vol. 3, Atlases published 1764–1789*, London 1997.

desired degree of perfection'.[5] One imperfection, arising from the evidence then available, was the incorrect identification of Isaac Taylor, a long perpetuated error repeated as recently as 1987.[6]

There was good cause for confusion. It was well known that Isaac Taylor of Ross-on-Wye in Herefordshire was the author of the printed county maps of Herefordshire 1754, Hampshire 1759, Dorset 1765, Worcestershire 1772 and Gloucestershire 1777. He was identified, plausibly enough, as Isaac Taylor born in Worcester in 1730, son of William Taylor, a brass-founder and engraver, who in 1752 walked to London, became employed by a cutler, Josiah Jefferys or Jeffries of Brentwood, Essex, whose brother Thomas Jefferys was a prominent cartographer. In 1754 he married Josiah Jefferys's daughter Sarah, undertook some estate surveying but returned to London three years later. There he set up in business as an engraver, occasionally producing plates for Thomas Jefferys. He died at Edmonton in 1807.[7] The improbability of Isaac Taylor, the engraver, watercolourist and occasional surveyor of Brentwood and London, being the same person as the Isaac Taylor, who from 1754 habitually signed himself as 'of Ross', was exposed after the British Museum obtained photocopies in the early 1930s of two large series of estate maps of the Sturt family in Devon and elsewhere and the Erle-Drax family in Dorset, all drawn by Isaac Taylor of Ross in the 1760s and 1770s.[8] But it was not until the publication of recent research that the distinction was clarified.[9]

Moreover, neither Chubb's catalogue of Gloucestershire maps nor the Society's atlas set out to put Isaac Taylor's map in its wider context, to examine its content or to assess its accuracy. The aim of this essay is to supply at least some of these omissions.

ISAAC TAYLOR'S CAREER

The post-Restoration scientific and technological advances and interest in travel and land improvement had created a demand for maps of every kind—estate surveys and proposals for public works, road maps and maritime charts, county maps and town plans. The number of land-surveyors and of map-publishers increased vastly throughout the following century to meet the demand.[10] In the normal way there were clear distinctions between large-scale land-surveying for individual clients and the provision of smaller-scale printed maps for publication. It was most unusual for land surveyors

[5] Chubb, *op. cit.* in note 2, p. 9.

[6] R.V. Tooley, 'Large scale English county maps and plans of cities not printed in atlases', *The map collector*, no. 38 (1987), p. 37. The posthumous article also mistakenly notes the scale as 2 inches to the mile.

[7] Chubb, *op. cit.* in note 2, p. 75; A.S. Mason, *Essex on the map. The 18th century land surveyors of Essex*, Chelmsford 1990, pp. 87–88.

[8] British Library, Maps.A.5.(15), *Catalogue of photocopies of cadastral maps...O[rdnance] S[urvey] 1935*.

[9] S. Bendall, *Dictionary of land surveyors and local map-makers of Great Britain and Ireland 1530–1850*, 2nd. edn. London 1997, vol.2, p. 503; P. Hughes and H. Hurley, *The story of Ross-on-Wye*, Almeley, Herefs. 1999, p. 106; Mason, *op. cit.* in note 7; B. S. Smith, *Herefordshire maps 1577–1800*, Almeley 2004, pp. 195–6.

[10] Bendall, *ibid*, vol.1, figs. 14, 17, 19.

to turn their hand to printed maps or for the men in the London map-publishing trade to survey landed estates as the two occupations were distinctly different, not only in fieldwork but also financially. Map-publishing required the organisation and backing of capital for long-term production and sales. Benjamin Donn, for example, raised £2,000 to cover the expenses of producing his map of Devon. Land surveyors needed only relatively inexpensive surveying instruments and would receive payment for each commission on its completion. Taylor was remarkable in engaging in both activities.

The date and place of his birth remain unknown. It is likely that he was born in the early 1720s but searches in parish registers and genealogical indexes of Herefordshire and the other counties with which he had early associations have proved unsuccessful. The nearest matches, both contentious, are Isaac, son of Thomas and Martha Taylor of the parish of St Nicholas, Hereford, who was baptised on 14 October 1720 and an Isaac Taylor who drew a chart of Portsmouth and the Isle of Wight as a navigation student in 1739; it is probably only a coincidence but in 1760 Isaac Taylor of Ross engraved a map of the Isle of Wight as an experiment following his dissatisfaction with the engraver of his map of Hampshire the previous year.[11] He first appeared in the Midlands, trained and competent, as the author in 1750 of a town plan of Wolverhampton, which to compound confusion was engraved by Thomas Jefferys, and of a plan of Oxford, more crudely engraved by G. Anderton for publication in 1751 by W. Jackson, founder in 1753 of *Jackson's Oxford Journal*. He was evidently targeting the smaller substantial towns of the Midlands that lacked large-scale engraved plans as he turned next to make a more mature plan of Hereford, to which he referred in 1754 but did not publish until 1757. All three town plans contain stylistic features repeated in his later maps, though it was not until the publication of his first county map of Herefordshire in 1754 that he consistently gave his address as Ross for the rest of his life. In 1759 he married Eleanor Newman at Ross and the baptisms of their three daughters are recorded in the Ross parish registers, Anna Jemima in 1761, Mary in 1765 (and buried the same year) and Elizabeth in 1766.[12] His wife Eleanor was buried at Ross only two years later in 1768 but at the time of the publication of his Gloucestershire map in 1777 he was living in some comfort in a large house at 54–55 High Street insured for £400.[13]

Until the late seventeenth century the only county maps available were those copied from or based on Christopher Saxton's surveys of 1577–79. Then, beginning with Middlesex (1680), Cambridgeshire (1684) and Cornwall (1699), newly surveyed maps of varying quality at a scale of one inch to one mile or larger began to appear. By 1750 maps of a further half dozen counties had been published.[14] The growing

[11] *Ex inf.* Gill Rushton, Hampshire Record Office, 17 November 2003, who reported that this Isaac Taylor was apparently not a student of the Royal Academy of Portsmouth, the archives of which are in the National Maritime Museum; Royal Society for the Arts, London, PR.GE/110/10/80, letter from Isaac Taylor with map of the Isle of Wight, 31 December 1760.

[12] Herefordshire RO, Ross parish registers. Elizabeth Taylor buried at Ross in 1770 was not his daughter; he was survived by both Anna Jemima and Elizabeth.

[13] Smith, *op. cit.* in note 9, p.196.

[14] E.M. Rodger, *The large scale county maps of the British Isles 1596–1850: a union list*, Oxford 2nd. edn. 1972; B.P. Hindle, *Maps for local historians*, London 1988; D. Smith, *Maps and plans for the local historian and collector*, London 1988.

interest in providing a wider coverage of the country, driven by the antiquaries William Borlase and Henry Baker, founder members in 1754 of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce (later and more usually known as the Royal Society for the Arts), eventually led the Society in 1759 to offer annual premiums of not more than £100 for the best county maps at a scale of one inch to one mile. At first they concentrated on the maritime counties, laying down high standards of content, technical ability in trigonometrical surveying, accuracy and engraving. In the following half century thirteen county surveys received awards.[15]

Taylor's maps of Herefordshire and Hampshire were too early to qualify for a premium from the Royal Society for the Arts. Having taught himself how to engrave he submitted his map of Dorset for a premium in 1765 but it failed in competition with Benjamin Donn's more detailed and better engraved map of Devon. He did not seek a premium from the Society for his later maps of the inland counties of Worcestershire and Gloucestershire, perhaps recognising that compared with the best examples of his contemporaries these also suffered from the same shortcomings as Dorset, attributed partly to his style of draughtsmanship as a land-surveyor.[16] He had advertised his readiness to carry out land-surveying as early as 1754 and undertook such commissions from at least 1757 and especially in the 1770s, producing a total of about a hundred large-scale estate maps of a high quality, well drawn with fine penmanship.

His ability and versatility in both occupations had its benefits in providing him with a mixed income. Printed county maps were several years in the making from inception to publication. Joel Gascoyne's Cornwall (1699) took six years, Henry Beighton's Warwickshire (*c.* 1728) six to seven years, Benjamin Donn's Devon (1765) five to six years, William Yates's Lancashire (1786) eleven years.[17] Isaac Taylor's Herefordshire was published only three to four years after his town plans of Wolverhampton and Oxford, but there was then a gap of five years before Hampshire appeared in 1759, six years before Dorset in 1765, seven years before Worcestershire in 1772 and seven years before Gloucestershire in 1777. In Taylor's case the delays were largely caused by his engagement in land-surveying. In the late 1750s he had been surveying in Hampshire as well as preparing the map of that county. In the early 1760s, whilst working on the map of Dorset he was also land-surveying in Herefordshire. On completing the map of Dorset he stayed on in the West Country until 1770 to execute the large task of surveying the Sturt estates whilst also preparing the map of Worcestershire published in 1772. He returned to the West Country to survey the Erle-Drax estates between 1773 and 1777 when he was working on the map of Gloucestershire. In practice he had been preparing the Gloucestershire map even earlier, for as early as 1769 he advertised that his survey of the county would be ready in 1771 and there is some evidence, discussed below, which suggests that he surveyed

[15] C. Delano-Smith and R.J.P. Kain, *English maps: a history*, London 1999, pp. 88–89; Rodger, *op. cit.* in note 14, pp. vi-vii.

[16] Royal Society for the Arts, London, PR.GE/112/7, minutes of the Polite Arts Committee 1765–66, pp.5, 6, 31: subsequent minutes to 1778 contain no references to Taylor; P. Laxton, *250 years of map-making in the county of Hampshire*, Lympne 1976, Introduction section 8–13.

[17] Delano-Smith and Kain, *op. cit.* in note 15, pp. 84, 86, 91–2; P.D.A. Harvey and H. Thorpe, *The printed maps of Warwickshire 1576–1900*, Warwick 1959, pp. 93–95.

parts of the county in those years.[18] It would certainly have been sensible to have taken the opportunity of doing so when working on Worcestershire, whilst his local knowledge of the Ross area, his earlier surveys of Herefordshire and of the river Wye and the experience of his journeys between Ross and the West Country, presumably via the Aust ferry, would all have speeded his progress on mapping Gloucestershire.

By that time he had acquired wide experience. His original inspiration and model appears to have been Henry Beighton's excellent map of Warwickshire, first published about 1728 and re-issued in December 1751. He adopted Beighton's style for Herefordshire in 1754 and continued in much the same manner over the following twenty years. The dedication of the Gloucestershire map was somewhat less effusive and the inset plan of Hereford was here replaced by elegant framed drawings of the castles of Berkeley, Thornbury, St Briavels, Beverstone and Sudeley. The side panels containing the coats of arms of the subscribers to his early maps were omitted. The conventional signs were reduced in variety from fifty-nine symbols on his map of Herefordshire in 1754 to twenty-one, by limiting the distinctions between different kinds of churches and chapels, gentlemen's seats and other buildings, by omitting all prehistoric features except for one symbol for 'Camps of Entrenchments' and by excising the 'Explanation of the Characters' that twenty-three years earlier he had thought necessary for a public less familiar with maps. The built-up areas and individual houses, woodland and hill-shading became better represented, but there were fewer archaeological features. Overall, all his maps are clearly from the same hand, but by the 1770s Taylor was about fifty years old, less fit for the hard outdoor work of riding and walking on poor roads and surveying over long distances. He had also become more selective in recording insignificant detail in the field and on the drawing-board.

The map of Gloucestershire was his last publication. In the same year he also concluded his last series of nineteen estate maps in Devon and returned to his home in Ross. Although in 1780 he advertised in the *Hereford Times* his services as a valuer he is not known to have undertaken any more land-surveying. This withdrawal, coupled with the evidence of careless engraving and proof-reading of the Gloucestershire map, prompts speculation that perhaps his eyesight or health was failing after the years of the demanding and close work of draughtsmanship and engraving.[19] By about 1785 he retired completely from business. His elder daughter Anna Jemima had married James Lane of Ross on New Year's Day that year and he was clearly settling his own affairs. He disposed of the copperplates of his maps to the well known London map-publisher, William Faden of Charing Cross, who reissued the map of Gloucestershire under his own imprint on 21 August 1786. On 13 November Taylor made his will. Faden meanwhile also reissued the map of Herefordshire in 1786, to be followed by Dorset in 1795, Worcestershire in 1800 and Gloucestershire again in 1800. In that same year he also published simplified maps of Dorset and Gloucestershire on a single sheet at a reduced scale of two miles to one inch.

Long before then Isaac Taylor had died, to be buried at Ross on 17 June 1788. In his will he left his two adjoining houses in the High Street for the use of his sister-in-law Elizabeth Stock for her life and then they were to pass to his elder daughter Anna

[18] Gloucestershire Archives [GA], D674A/F4.

[19] Smith, *op. cit.* in note 9, pp. 195–6.

Jemima Lane. Elizabeth Stock also received an annuity of £20 a year, perhaps in recognition of help in bringing up both his daughters. His younger daughter Elizabeth was then still unmarried and to the two of them he left all his other possessions and investments, except for any debts owing to him which, if they could be collected, he gave to his son-in-law, James Lane.[20]

THE GLOUCESTERSHIRE MAP

Isaac Taylor's map of the county was of a quite different order from any of its predecessors. The printed maps of the county over the previous two centuries had borrowed much but added little to Saxton's pioneering survey of 1577. At a fraction more than one inch to one mile Taylor's map was of a scale and size three times larger than Saxton and contained over five and a half times as many place-names.[21] He had been partly forestalled by his old rival Benjamin Donn, who in 1769 had published a circular map of the country eleven miles round Bristol at a scale of one and a half inches to one mile, but this map extended no farther north than Thornbury (and was therefore rejected as too limited for a premium from the Royal Society of the Arts) whilst both Saxton and Taylor covered the whole of the ancient shire before the boundary alterations of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[22]

The map consists of six sheets measuring, border to border, 1347 mm. (top to bottom) × 1180 mm. (left to right) or 53 × 46½ inches.[23] Each sheet is reproduced as a double-page spread in the Society's *Atlas*. Most surviving copies are linen-backed and either rolled to form a single large sheet for hanging or folded into 24 sections for insertion in a slip case. The exceptions are the copies of the 1800 one-inch and half-inch editions at the Royal Geographical Society, which bear watermarks of 1794 (the date of the statute regarding watermarks perhaps rather than that of manufacture of the paper) and 18[00].[24] The map is drawn within a ruled frame of a thick outer line and a narrow double line marked with degrees and minutes of latitude and longitude. An overall grid is lightly imposed over the map at three-minute intervals of latitude and. at five-minute intervals of longitude. The baroque title cartouche is on the south-eastern sheet with the dedication

[20] The National Archives (Public Record Office, Kew), Prob 11/1170, fols. 126v.-127.

[21] A.C. Painter, 'Notes on some old Gloucestershire maps', *Trans. BGAS*, vol. 51 (1929), p. 87: 2,430 names compared to 428.

[22] Royal Society for the Arts, London, PR.GE/112/12/11, minutes of the Polite Arts Committee, p.8. Copies of Donn's map are held by the British Library, Bodleian Library and Bristol Archives Office. The pre-1974 county boundary changes are most clearly set out in 'Gloucestershire 1961' in *A Gloucestershire and Bristol atlas*, 1961.

[23] These are the measurements of the outside borders of my copy of the first edition, which is folded in a slip case. A rolled copy of the first edition (GA, MA 19/23) measures 1322 x 1175 mm. Tooley, *op. cit.* in note 6, gives the measurements 1335 x 1175 mm. The size of other copies listed in public repositories also varies a little, perhaps due to measurement of the document overall (rather than the borders of the map) or to inclusion of the space taken by the folds. The scale remains constant.

[24] *Ex inf.* Francis Herbert, Curator of Maps, Royal Geographical Society. The second map has been trimmed and the last two figures of 18[00] are missing.

To
The Subscribers in General,
And more Particularly
To those NOBLEMEN and GENTLEMEN who
Honoured me with their Assistance in the SURVEY;
This MAP of the COUNTY of
GLOUCESTER
Is Humbly DEDICATED by their
Obedient & most humble Servant
Isaac Taylor.
ROSS.
Mar.h 10, 1777.

Beneath the dedication he added an advertisement '*NB. Estates are Survey'd & Mapped on a very Accurate and Neat manner at y.e usual Prices. Also Maps Reduced & Drawn in the manner of Engraving*'. Although he surveyed estates in other counties he is not known to have had any such commissions in Gloucestershire. The cartouche incorporates the arms of the bishops of Gloucester and Bristol at the top. At the foot is arrayed a collection of the products of the county, apples and woolsacks, cheeses from Berkeley Hundred, cider barrels and a salmon net, a Severn trow and sea-going ships, two glasshouse kilns and a factory with three large chimneys. A figure of Mercury, the god of commerce and technology, stands holding a half-open roll of paper in his right hand and a quill and pair of dividers in the other. To the left is a table of conventional signs and a scale of 4 miles to 3. $^{31}/_{32}$nds inches or 1:60390, with rather incongruously, as if an afterthought, a note about the identification of mitred abbeys and the orders of monastic houses. He made no claim for the trigonometrical nature of the survey nor did he reveal where he had established his base line or what allowance he had made for magnetic variation. His statement that longitude 'is reckoned W from London' was less than precise, but he used the Greenwich prime meridian, not St Paul's cathedral (and not a local meridian as he had in Hampshire).[25]

Towns and villages are shown with sufficient accuracy to indicate their street plan and extent. Only the city of Bristol is poorly represented, although even here Queen Square can be clearly picked out. Benjamin Donn had shown the city rather more accurately in 1769 and would publish a plan of Bristol in 1800 (also reproduced in *A Gloucestershire and Bristol atlas*). Despite the larger scale of his 1769 map of Bristol and its environs, which permitted greater clarity and detail and thus gained him the approbation of the Royal Society for the Arts, Donn's map is less satisfactory in portraying the countryside. He showed the boundaries of the hundreds more precisely, marked more individual small houses, for instance around Frampton Cotterell Common and Yate Heath, identified the denominations of the nonconformist chapels and the types of industrial mills (but omitted coal pits), and gave the mileage on the principal roads from both Bristol and London. But Taylor marked more minor roads, showed the course and shallows of the river Severn and represented relief rather better. Local historians of south Gloucestershire have no choice but to refer to both maps. In doing so

[25] Thirty years earlier than the claim that in 1801 Charles Smith's and John Cary's maps of the county were the first to be measured from Greenwich; Chubb, *op. cit.* in note 2, pp. 90, 91.

they will notice the changes that occurred in the seven years between the publication of the two, for example in the names of owners of the more substantial houses and the reclamation of land at the mouth of the river Avon.

In the countryside Taylor named hamlets and selected country seats, farms, chapels and industrial buildings. He devised four conventional signs for the houses, categorising them broadly as post-Restoration mansions (for example, Elmore Court, Westbury Court, Williamstrip, Barnsley Park, Frampton Court), older country houses (Westonbirt before its rebuilding, Chavenage) and a host of smaller country houses and a few parsonages. He did not adhere rigidly to his own classification and there are several hybrid drawings and a few mansions in a class of their own (Badminton, Cirencester Park and Flaxley Abbey). The system worked reasonably well where there was space to insert the drawings without overcrowding and in Herefordshire he had used similar conventional signs with a notable degree of accuracy.[26] In Gloucestershire the mansion of Dyrham Park is noticeably downgraded as a small house and Elmore Court perhaps misrepresented; though remodelled in the early eighteenth-century it remained essentially an Elizabethan house until larger additions and changes in the nineteenth.[27]

The owners of about 250 of these country seats, ranking from the Duke of Beaufort to local squires, successful clothiers and rural clerics are named individually, demonstrating the extent of Taylor's collection of information. It is tempting to speculate that the names are those of subscribers and indeed the name of the only known subscriber, Thomas Master of Cirencester, does appear on the map. Nevertheless, it is unlikely that all 250 were subscribers. Following the example of John Harris's map of Kent 1719 and Henry Beighton's of Warwickshire 1728, Taylor's first county map of Herefordshire was adorned with side panels containing the coats of arms of subscribers, but there were no more than 92 at the most and even the Kent map recorded only 152. The Gloucestershire names are of the principal gentry, doubtless identified by Taylor as potential purchasers. The greatest concentration is found in the Stroud valleys and the area immediately north of Bristol.

Parish churches are distinguished by tower or steeple, again proof of his observation: note, for example, the slender spire at Slimbridge, the saddleback tower at North Cerney and the spire at St Mary's, Kempley, replaced in 1824 by the surviving pyramidal roof.[28] At Frocester he marked both the isolated parish church of St Peter, then in decay, and the medieval chapel-of-ease in the village, and at Mork in St Briavel's he recorded the medieval hospital chapel of St Margaret, thought to have been demolished before 1709.[29] Nonconformist chapels, then relatively few, are marked, such as the Quaker meeting house at Stoke Orchard, the Whitfieldian meeting house of Rodborough Tabernacle and the Baptist chapel at Hanham.

[26] *Ex inf.* David Whitehead, author of *A survey of historic parks and gardens in Herefordshire*, Hereford and Worcester Garden Trust 2001 and *The country houses of Herefordshire* (in progress). For Gloucestershire, see , D. Verey and A. Brooks, *The buildings of England: Gloucestershire*, 2nd edn, 2 vols., Building Books Trust 1999, 2002; N. Kingsley, *The country houses of Gloucestershire*, Chichester, vol. 1, 1989 and vol. 2, 1992.

[27] Kinglsey, *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 92–94.

[28] J.E. Gethyn-Jones, *St Mary's church, Kempley, and its paintings*, Gloucester 1961, p. 3.

[29] *VCH Glos*, vol. v, p. 270.

Among the industrial buildings there appear water mills, including rural corn mills throughout the county and the many cloth mills in the Stroud and Dursley area. In only a few instances are their industrial purposes revealed. In addition to the well known paper mills at Postlip near Winchcombe, five others were named at Abenhall, Bromsberrow, Quenington, Whitminster and Woolaston. There were the iron forges and furnaces not only in the Forest of Dean and its fringes, as at Flaxley and Lydney, but farther away at Framilode, Oxenhall and Upleadon., and copper works at Redbrook. North and east of Bristol were the copper works at Hanham and Bitton and the brass works at Kingswood and Bitton. Glass houses stood on the banks of the Bristol Avon and Frome (but, correctly at that time, not at Gloucester) and farther downstream were the powder house at Shirehampton and the dock at Sea Mills.[30] A number of windmills were still in use or, like those at Almondsbury, Cirencester, Bishop's Cleeve and Mickleton, disused or remembered only as place-names; the post-mill at Tirley Knoll, prominent on an estate map of 1738–40, had evidently disappeared without trace by 1777.[31] Four 'engines' for pumping water from coal mines are marked in the Forest of Dean, where 'Company's Coal Works' are also marked north of the Speech House, and four in the North Bristol coalfield where levels, coal pits and coal works are also named. The 'Old Engine' at Iron Acton and the small coal works at Boulsdon in Newent are also recorded.. On the river Avon above Bristol was the 'Engine for the use of the City'. Quarries are marked in the Forest of Dean near Bream, Speech House and two near Ruardean, and eight or more in the Cotswolds, though not those in the Windrush valley.[32] A few lime kilns are also marked, as at Woolridge near Hartpury, near Ayleford in the Forest of Dean, at Bisley, Alveston, and on Durdham Down, Bristol; there must have been many more.

For the first time roads, not only the principal post roads but the cross roads and even some lanes, were marked on a map with care and accuracy. In accordance with the accepted conventions introduced in John Ogilby's *Britannia* a hundred years earlier they were marked by Taylor with solid lines where they passed enclosed fields and pecked lines where they crossed open fields and unfenced commons. Mileage and turnpike gates are marked on post and turnpike roads, though not consistently. Those erected by the Newent turnpike trustees in 1749 and the Bibury turnpike trustees in 1756 are not marked, though possibly correctly so, as in both these cases milestones were ordered to be replaced in the 1770s and 1780s because they had been defaced or become illegible.[33] Here and there a few, very few, signposts, or cross-hands, are named, as at Beckford Cross and the Cross Hands at Old Sodbury. The surviving cross-hands signpost on Campden Down is marked but not named and there are similar signs at Coombe Hill and Claypits, Eastington; elsewhere the place-names Wapley Cross and High Cross, Elkstone may suggest the existence of a sign at cross-roads. By contrast, Barnards Cross on Postlip Warren appears to be drawn as a

[30] The Gloucester glasshouse was out of production 1744 to c. 1778: *ibid.* p. 132.

[31] Croome Trustees, Earl's Croome, Worcs., Map of Tirley, n.d.. The later pencilled date of *c.* 1734 on the map is doubtful. It was almost certainly one of the estate maps for which Earl of Coventry paid the surveyor John Doharty between 1738 and 1740.

[32] GA, D2382.

[33] R.J. Owens, 'The Newent turnpike road', *Gloucestershire historical studies V*, Bristol 1972, p. 22; G.N. Crawford, 'The Bibury turnpike trust', *Gloucestershire historical studies IX*, Bristol 1978, pp. 38–9.

wayside cross, not a sign post. As at Old Sodbury, such road junctions are commonly the site of important inns, but Taylor named few. The Hare and Hounds at Westonbirt, New Inn on the old Gloucester Road at Frogland Cross, Frampton Cotterell, Tipputs Inn, Horsley, Whitminster Inn, an unnamed inn at Cromhall and the Ready Token south of Bibury, though not identified as an inn, are exceptional. More gruesome roadside landmarks are the gibbet, complete with hanged corpse, at Bourton-on-the-Hill, the gallows at Over outside Gloucester and at Stratton outside Cirencester, and the place-names Deadman's Cross at Yorkley and Gallows Corner, Barnsley; but Hangman's Stone near Northleach is not marked.

A variety of other man-made landmarks are shown though not explained in the table of conventional signs. Taylor had earlier been commended for his inclusion of prehistoric and antiquarian sites but in Gloucestershire his selection was somewhat random. The Long Stone and Buck Stone near Staunton are marked and the long barrows of Stanbarrow and Wyck Beacon in the north Cotswolds, Wood Barrow at Chedworth, Jack Barrow at Duntisbourne Abbots, Tarbarrow outside Cirencester and the giant barrow at Leighterton.[34] Similarly, the Iron Age forts on the Cotswold escarpment are represented by Icomb camp, Uley Bury, Little Sodbury and the nearby camp and strip lynchets on Hinton Hill; 'Stainbarow Camp', Notgrove appears to have been confused with the long barrow there. The earthworks of the pre-Roman settlement of Bagendon were well enough known for Taylor to mark them as 'Barrows'. The early recorded Roman villas at Witcombe, Chedworth and Woodchester had yet to be discovered but the Foss Way, Ermine Street and the ancient Salt Way are marked, together with the town walls on the south side of Cirencester and the amphitheatre, mistakenly identified as a castle. The principal medieval castles of the county, pictured in inset drawings at the top of the map, are marked as is the prominent motte of Castle Tump, Dymock. The battle sites at Tewkesbury (1471) and Lansdown (1643) are shown, in the latter case with the 'Royal Camp', 'Cromwell's Camp' and 'Glanvills Monument' to the Royalist hero Sir Bevil Grenville, as are the beacons on Beacon Hill, Littledean and Painswick Beacon.[35] The orders of monastic houses are distinguished, though lack of space hindered this at Bristol and at Gloucester where the letters A and C appear to identify St Oswald's Priory and the Carmelite White Friars, the only friary to be marked. Among other individual buildings are the Infirmary at Gloucester, the 'hospital' almshouses at Chipping Campden, the pest houses at Fairford and Lechlade and 'Westley's [Wesley's] School' at Kingswood.

Finally among the man-made landmarks are the parks, follies and obelisks adjoining country houses and ranging from the modest avenues at The Boyce in Dymock in the far north-west of the county to the broad landscape of Cirencester Park, the grand vistas, park pale, lodge, gates, caves and patty [paddock] course at Badminton, the isolated tower on 'Edgbury' [Welshbury] Hill, Flaxley and the obelisks at Fairford Park and Stoke Park. The tower on Welshbury Hill is marked with the same conventional sign as Painswick Beacon, but stands within only a short distance of Beacon Hill

[34] H. O'Neil and L.V. Grinsell, 'Gloucestershire barrows', *Trans. BGAS*, vol. 79, pt.1, (1961), pp. 56, 94.

[35] The beacon at Littledean is recorded in 1669: A.H. Smith, *The place-names of Gloucestershire*, English Place-Name Society, vol. 40, pt. 3, 1964, p. 220.

at Littledean, suggesting that Taylor used the same sign for different types of hilltop buildings. Other features of 18th-century leisure are the race-courses at Tetbury, North Cerney and Aldsworth, the Bowling Green at Saintbury, the spa at Cheltenham, the Hotwells at Bristol, the Cold Bath at Redland.

Parks and spas bring us at last to the underlying natural features of the landscape, whether man-made or not. In the Forest of Dean the relatively small areas of enclosed plantations lay within a much greater expanse of woodland, which nevertheless appears to be considerably less than the wooded area marked on the current Ordnance Survey map. The beech woods on the scarp and among the valleys of the Cotswolds also show up prominently, together with the many plantations of groves and clumps. Also marked are isolated trees serving as landmarks, some shown with shadows in the manner of land-surveyors, and the famous Tortworth chestnut 'planted in the reign of K. John'. Their large number makes it likely that Taylor used at least some of these isolated trees and clumps for taking his local bearings. The greater part of the landscape was, of course, under cultivation and some overall concept of the extent of open fields and of waste land in the Forests of Dean and Kingswood, on Corse Lawn and Evenlode Heath can be obtained from the place-names and roads marked by pecked lines.

Taylor and other eighteenth-century county map-makers at last replaced Saxton's convention of drawing hills as 'molehills' by shaded lines to denote hill slopes. Rather belatedly, his was the first map of Gloucestershire to be drawn in the new style. Unfortunately the shading to mark rising ground and hills is rather clumsily engraved and sometimes obscures other details. Between the hills he indicated the rivers, streams and even a few noteworthy wells and springs, including the rival sources of the river Thames at 'Seven Wells' and Thames Head, St Kenelm's Well at Winchcombe and a conduit at Chipping Campden. His delineation of the wriggling course of minor streams out of sight from roads and settlements is symbolic rather than accurate but the larger Cotswold rivers of Coln, Frome and Windrush, and the Bristol and Tewkesbury Avons, are drawn with recognisable accuracy. The river Severn, with its passages, lodes and pills, its sea walls between Berkeley and the mouth of the Avon, is portrayed by a landsman rather than a sailor, though clearly he had observed from its banks the course of the deep waterway, shifting sands and shallow reefs of the tidal river below Awre. The accuracy of his representation of the land reclamation on the opposite bank at Slimbridge is confirmed by three mid eighteenth-century estate maps.[36]

The engraver of the map is not named. If Taylor engraved Gloucestershire himself it is strange that he committed the elementary misspellings that occur, such as 'River Church' for the Churn, 'Shipton Clave' for Shipton Oliffe, 'Tutton under Brailes' for Sutton under Brailes and the 'Drindicial stones' for the long barrow at Wick near Doynton. These are the errors of a copyist but also suggest that Taylor was careless in checking the proofs of the map.

William Faden's re-issue of the Gloucestershire map in 1786 differed from Taylor's first edition in only two small respects. In the title cartouche he replaced Taylor's advertisement as an estate surveyor with the caption 'London. Printed for W^m^. Faden,

[36] J.R.L. Allen, 'A short history of saltmarsh reclamation at Slimbridge Warth and neighbouring areas', *Trans. BGAS*, vol. 104 (1986), p. 148.

Geographer to the King, Charing Cross, Aug.t 21st 1786' and overprinted the routes of the Stroudwater and Thames and Severn canals, the second still under construction.[37] In the issue of 1800, which he claimed as a second edition, he made merely a further minor amendment to the title cartouche to read 'London Published by W. Faden, Geographer to the King and H.R.H. the Prince of Wales. Charing Cross' with the date of publication on 24 November 1800 and inserted the Gloucester and Herefordshire and Berkeley canals. Even these he took little care to overprint correctly. The Gloucester and Herefordshire canal is shown as planned in 1791, not as revised in 1793 and opened as far as Ledbury in 1798; work on the Gloucester to Berkeley canal had begun in 1794 but was suspended in 1799 for two decades with only the basin at Gloucester completed; the short Coombe Hill canal (1796) is not marked at all.

Additionally, Faden more daringly issued in 1800 a two-miles to one-inch edition that, although clearly derived from and attributed to Taylor, bears little resemblance to the one-inch version on which it was based. Faden provides no indication of who re-drew or engraved this smaller map entitled 'The County of Glocester, Surveyed by Isaac Taylor, and Planned from a Scale of Two Miles to One Inch...Published by Wm. Faden...Feby. 1st. 1800'. Some of the minor place-names, lanes, country houses, industrial and other landmarks have been omitted. Further copying errors have crept in, such as Brakeney for Blakeney and Birdlib for Birlip (*sic*) but the simplifications significantly reduced the overcrowding of the original version, resulting in a clear and intelligible map. Isaac Taylor's modestly expressed hachuring to indicate relief was replaced by bolder and older-fashioned 'woolly caterpillars'. New features include consistent measurement of mileage along the principal roads, distances of Gloucestershire towns from London and, most notably, an inset plan of the city of Gloucester based upon Hall and Pinnell's plan of the city first published in 1780.

ANALYSIS

From the outset Taylor's work has been given a mixed reception. Richard Gough, the antiquary, described his Dorset map as 'a capital Survey' and although the Royal Society for the Arts in 1765 favoured Benjamin Donn's map of Devon over Taylor's of Dorset, the county historian of Dorset, John Hutchins, wrote that he would have voted for Taylor. Hutchins was by no means uncritical, condemning Taylor's treatment of Dorset place-names and 'the clumsy, gloomy and unequal Manner of the Engraving'. Both William Roy and William Mudge, successive surveyor-generals of the Ordnance Survey, were critical of Taylor's presentation of the topography of both Hampshire and Dorset.[38] Similar criticisms apply to his map of Gloucestershire and were voiced by Brigadier A.C. Painter, who commented in 1929 that 'his survey is sketchy, his lesser roads vague, his rivers and streams weak and inaccurate and his place-names not always convincing', giving examples of the phonetic spelling of some

[37] I am grateful to David Lovelace of Norton Canon, Herefordshire for photographing the copy of this issue at The National Archives (Public Record Office, Kew), MR1/331.

[38] Laxton, *op. cit.* in note 16, Introduction section 8–13.

place-names and the engraver's spelling mistakes.[39] To these might have been added Taylor's stilted street plan of Bristol and weak representation of relief in the hills and valleys of the Forest of Dean and Cotswolds.

However, a judgement on Taylor's achievement can only be made by re-examining the landscape that he recorded before it was reshaped by the inclosure commissioners, turnpike trustees and canal engineers in the half-century between 1777 and the next one-inch to one-mile maps published by Andrew Bryant (1824), Christopher and John Greenwood (1824) and the Ordnance Survey (surveyed 1811–1818, revised and published 1828–31). An exercise in 1970–71 to compare Taylor's map with contemporary large-scale estate maps proved inconclusive, though it found that main roads at Gloucester, Ampney St Mary and Coln St Aldwyn had been realigned after Taylor's survey and that he had mapped the minor roads near Cranham accurately, but not those between Quenington and Fairford; he had recorded bridges and fords accurately, but not every watermill.[40] Over the last forty years the editors of the Victoria County History of Gloucestershire have used Taylor's map to establish or corroborate evidence, most often relating to roads and the existence of isolated rural settlements, but they rarely expose his omissions or errors. Other local histories, whilst referring to Taylor's map, have also not commented critically upon his survey.[41] His Gloucestershire map therefore deserves some further assessment to add to other recent research on Taylor's career.[42] Four more small areas have accordingly been selected here for examination. The illustrations, though varying in the size of their reproduction, are shown with a scale bar at one inch to one mile.

THE SOUTH WALES ROAD BETWEEN CHARLTON KINGS AND NORTHLEACH

In 1777 the one-street market town of Cheltenham was attracting to its infant spa visitors moving on from Bath but it had yet to receive the boost in its popularity occasioned by George III's visit in 1788. It was still linked to the main overland route (avoiding Aust ferry) between London and South Wales by steep twisting minor roads unsuitable for coaches. Travellers for London were picked up by the Gloucester coach at the Frog Mill inn after negotiating the maze of lanes in Charlton Kings and

[39] Painter, *op. cit.* in note 21, pp. 87–88.

[40] M.J.D. Light, 'Isaac Taylor's map of Gloucestershire', *Gloucestershire historical studies V*, Bristol 1972, pp. 45–46, which was the outcome of an investigation in 1970–71 at the Bristol University Extra-Mural Class held in the Gloucestershire Record Office.

[41] Exceptions include H. O'Neil and L.V. Grinsell, 'Gloucestershire barrows', *Trans. BGAS*, vol. 79, pt.1 (1960); C. Cox, 'Milestones of the Stroud district', *Trans. BGAS*, vol. 83 (1964), pp. 119–142, and 'Turnpike houses of the Stroud district', *Trans. BGAS*, vol. 86 (1967), pp. 118–150; M. Paget ed., *A history of Charlton Kings*, Gloucester 1988.

[42] Laxton, *op. cit.* in note 16; Mason, *op. cit* .in note 7, pp. 25, 88–9; Delano-Smith and Kain, *op. cit.* in note 15, pp. 89–91, 96–97; *ex inf.* Whitehead, *op. cit.* in note 26; M.R. Ravenhill and M.R. Rowe, *Devon maps and map-makers. Manuscript maps before 1840*, Devon and Cornwall Record Society, vols. 43, 45 (2002); Smith, *op. cit.* in note 9, pp. 26–27, 48–50, 80–82, 84, 121, 126, 127, 195–6.

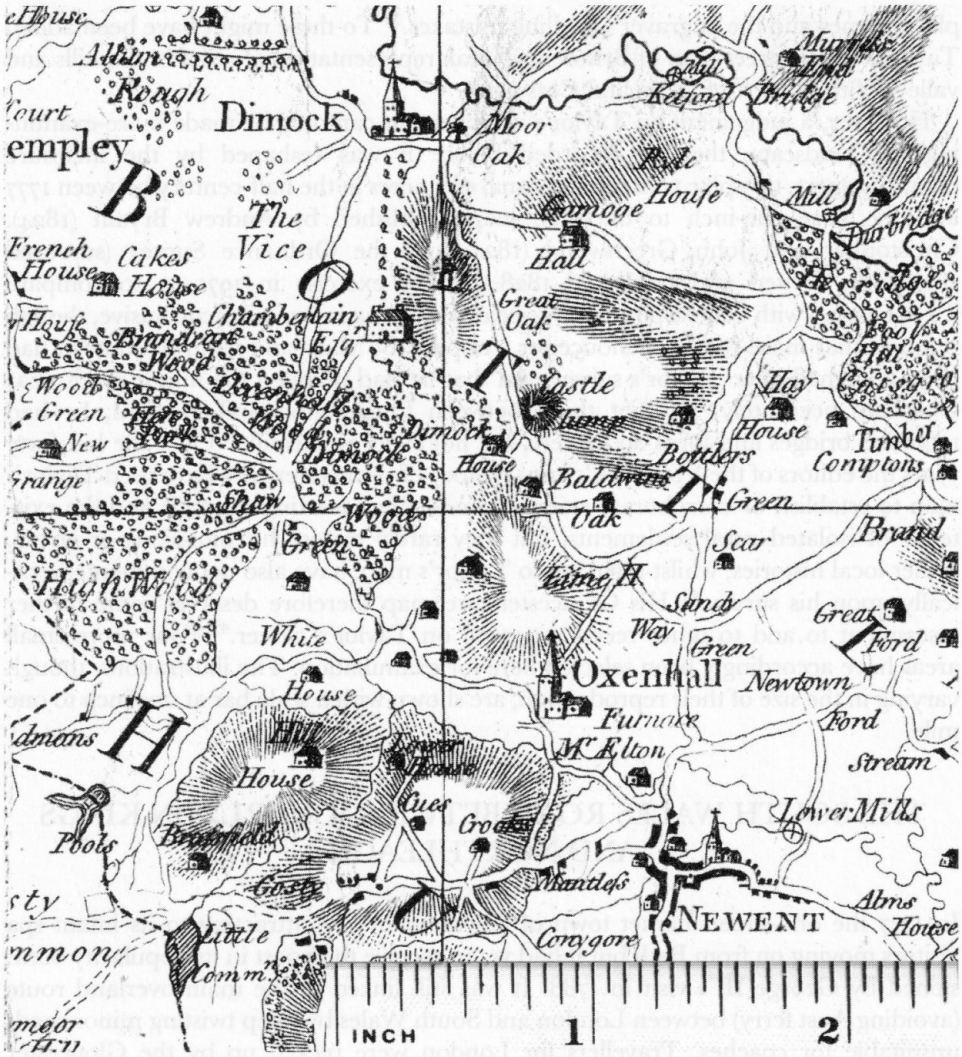

Fig 1. The South Wales road

then striking up the steep hill past Rossley to the former Cold Comfort inn on the hill-top.[43] Taylor omits some of the lanes in Charlton Kings, where diversions and stoppages were made in 1787, but portrays the general shape of the village reasonably well, including the river Chelt.[44] The stiff climb by Rossley was not avoided until 1786 when a new route was taken through Dowdeswell, also dangerously steep but passable by a coach, which in turn the turnpike trustees replaced by the present road in 1824.[45]

[43] Paget, *op. cit.* in note 41, pp. 14–18.
[44] GA, Q/SRh 1787/C1.
[45] GA, Q/Rum 98; *VCH Glos,* vol. xi, p. 42.

From Cold Comfort, named Cold Common by Taylor who marked a building on the site of the former inn, the roads and bridleways ran much as today, but crossing the very different landscape of the open fields of the Shiptons and Compton Abdale. A large-scale estate map of the Shiptons in 1764 shows clearly not only the London road with its traffic but the web of lanes to the north criss-crossing these open fields and the large expanse of 'Puesdowns Common'.[46] Taylor's map, whilst not marking them all, shows the principal tracks as well as the old road running westward from Shipton to cross the river Churn at Fulford. Following inclosure in 1793 none of these survives even as a footpath. East of Puesdown the London road had for at least a couple of centuries before Taylor's time kept to the high ground and easy gradients to the north of Northleach and, as he correctly marks, both this route and the way through the town were turnpike roads. The high route survived as a pleasant green lane and haven of wildlife until 1984 when the present Northleach bypass was built over or close beside it.

Taylor's survey is impressively accurate, despite his deliberate omission of minor roads and difficulty in mapping every village street in Charlton Kings and, to a lesser extent, in Shipton Oliffe.

COLD ASTON

Three miles north of Northleach and high on the exposed wolds is the parish of Cold Aston alias Aston Blank. It is shaped like a triangle with its apex at the south and the river Windrush and the Foss Way marking the northern and eastern sides; on the west is Notgrove, of which in the early 8th century Aston had been the 'east farmstead'. In 1777 the north-eastern fifth of the parish, Little Aston, belonged to Pembroke College, Oxford, but the whole of the remainder was the estate of Mary, widow of Sir Thomas Doyley Bt, an absentee landlord. His estate, comprising a small compact central village surrounded by four open fields rising to common sheep pastures, had been mapped in 1752. His successors, also absentee landlords, enclosed the open fields in 1796. Isaac Taylor's survey neatly comes midway between the pre-inclosure map and the estate papers recording the changes that followed the inclosure award.

There are two main roads running close to or along the eastern and northern parish boundaries. The first, the 'Great Road' or Roman Foss Way is well marked by Taylor, with pecked lines and milestones, one of which, the tenth milestone from Cirencester on Northleach Downs, is still standing. The second is the ancient and still well used way from Gloucester to Bourton-on-the-Water that crossed the lonely high ground north of the village.[47] Inexplicably Taylor did not mark it. This extraordinary omission is all the more strange because he did mark (as a large circular 'camp') the long barrow of Stanbarrow, which stands by the side of this road. It would seem that he was relying on hearsay about Stanbarrow, whilst he personally rode the nearby parallel minor road, Ash Way, linking the villages of Salperton, Notgrove and Cold Aston. He showed this with some gaps eventually petering out in the open North Field of Cold Aston. It was probably already in decline, being designated as only a

[46] GA, D1930. The large and complex map has been redrawn in *VCH Glos*, vol. xi, p. 188.
[47] *VCH Glos*, vol. ix, p. 10.

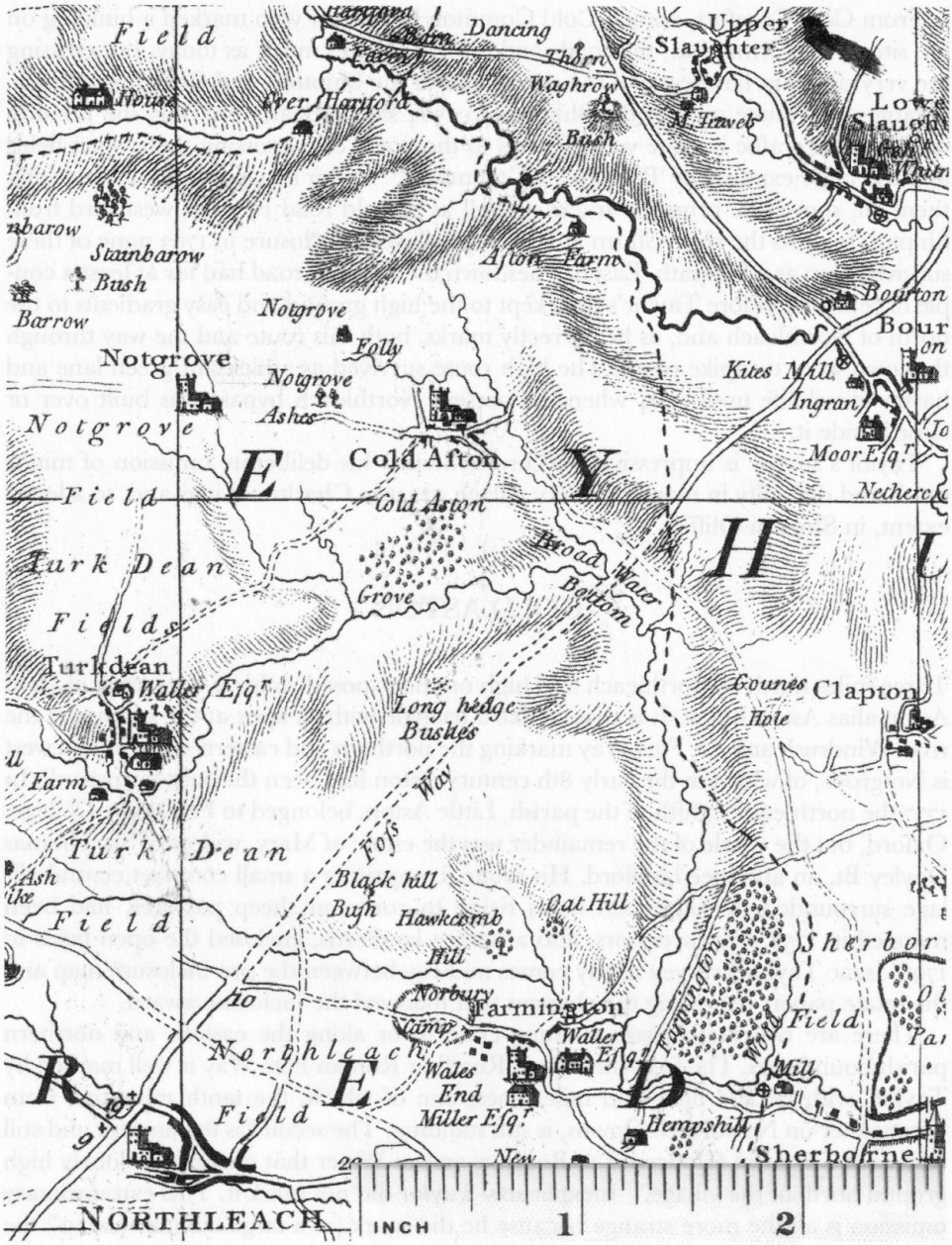

Fig 2. Cold Aston

bridleway in the inclosure award of Notgrove in 1771 and although parts remain public rights-of-way the through route was abandoned as a result of highway diversions in Salperton Park in 1796.[48] More strikingly, neither he nor the anonymous 1752 estate

[48] *Ibid.* pp. 10, 146; GA, Q/SRh 1796/A1–4.

surveyor marked the track running due south from the village along the boundary between the open West Field and South Field. It was the way to Northleach in 1612 and at inclosure in 1796 was designated a bridleway, which it remains. On the other hand he did mark the road running south-eastwards to Burford, also along a boundary between the former open fields, but as with Ash Way he failed to connect it to the village. Similarly, he correctly marked with pecked lines the road crossing the open West Field to Turkdean, which in 1752 was merely an access lane into the open field but was confirmed as a road by the inclosure commissioners in 1796.

Those minor roads in Cold Aston, marked by Taylor but not directly corroborated by the pre-inclosure estate map, were in fact probably already in existence in 1752 as access tracks dividing the open fields, later to be confirmed by the inclosure commissioners. This conclusion, however, does not satisfactorily explain the way in which Taylor showed side roads to peter out or not connect up with each other. The omissions are quite deliberate and other county map-makers, like Taylor's model Henry Beighton and his younger rival Benjamin Donn, followed the same practice. Their aim was to mark clearly those roads used by travellers and those which linked towns and villages with each other. They were not concerned to record every byway of only local significance, many of which would have been indistinguishable from access tracks to farms or fields. For their purpose it was sufficient merely to indicate the existence of such side turnings without attempting to show where they led.. Full coverage all roads was achieved by the more scientifically trained county surveyors, like Peter Burdett of Derbyshire, William Yates of Lancashire, John Chapman and Peter André of Essex and later, of course, by the Ordnance Survey. Nor is it likely that Taylor traversed such unmade stony and muddy local tracks himself. The blank areas on the map denote choice not misrepresentation. Taylor in 1777 was still locked in an older practice.

It must also be remembered that Taylor's map was intended for a gentleman's library not the saddle-bag of a traveller. In the absence of pocket maps and despite the presence of milestones and rare directional signs on main roads, it was still usual for strangers to take a guide or to ask the way. Taylor's contemporary, the county historian Samuel Rudder, commented of north-west Gloucestershire, 'The roads in this part of the country are so intolerable, that the writer of this account found it necessary to desert his horse, and to travel with a guide on foot from one village to another'.[49] Even half a century later the antiquary, the Revd. John Skinner of Camerton, staying in 1824 at the Black Horse at Birdlip, obtained a guide to take him the short distance to the Roman villa recently discovered nearby at Great Witcombe.[50]

Taylor's representation of the landscape of Cold Aston is otherwise well done. He shaded the high ground hooked around the village and the steeper hollows of the streams flowing through the parish as intelligibly as the Ordnance Survey in 1828 and indeed rather more clearly if less accurately than the contours on the modern map. He named Aston Grove on the high ground south of the village, although in both 1752 and 1796 it appeared as merely a fenced area called Dry Grounds. He did admittedly place the stream crossing the Foss Way at Broadwater Bottom about half a mile too

[49] S. Rudder, *A new history of Gloucestershire*, Cirencester 1779, p. 561.

[50] B.L., Add. MS. 33669, fol. 29.

far north but he drew the river Windrush and its headwaters clearly. The river rises from scattered sources in the high wolds west of Stow including springs in Cold Aston and neighbouring parishes, whose brooks join at Broadwater Bottom from where Taylor and also the 1828 Ordnance Survey map marked their strongly flowing stream looping southward to Farmington and thence into the Windrush. Perhaps they were surveying after a wet season or the water levels were higher then but the effects of land drainage and the dry winters of 2005 and 2006 have left little sign of this watercourse below the brook bubbling from the town well at Cold Aston. The current Ordnance Survey map loses all trace of it below Broadwater Bottom and in April 2006 there was no more than a puddle beneath the bridge there and a damp patch in the dry valley at Washpool Wood, Farmington.

OXENHALL

Oxenhall lies in the far north-west of the county, a countryside of gentle hills, scattered hamlets and enclosed fields, woods and orchards quite different from the bleak expanses and deep valleys of the Cotswolds. The entire parish, with small exceptions, was mapped for Thomas Foley in 1775.[51] In the west Gorsley Common remained an extensive common broken by small encroachments; in the north it was heavily wooded. The landscape has changed little since 1775. Gorsley Common has been enclosed and the large Gorsley pools, which provided water-power for the Foleys' furnace at Elmbridge, have been filled in. Two hedged tracks that in 1775 ran northwards respectively from White House and Coldharbour have survived only as footpaths and a road, not marked beyond Shaw Common in 1775, now continues through Brandhill Wood to Kempley.

Taylor's map gives a rather different picture. He marked the high ground north of the church and the Ell brook with reasonable accuracy and named the isolated farms and hamlets which are a feature of west Gloucestershire, sometimes misinterpreting the names probably spoken to him in a strong local accent—'High Wood' for Hay Wood, 'Brandean Wood' for Brandhill Wood, 'Cues' for Kews Farm. More importantly at Shaw Common he marked the way through Brandhill Wood to Kempley that is not shown on the estate map and it is likely that he was correct to do so; the estate map similarly omits all the tracks across Gorsley Common. However, set against these good points is the glaring omission of the main road running directly northwards out of Newent towards Dymock. He showed only an indirect route by Sandy Way that rejoins the present main road near 'Lime H' [Line House] and another from Oxenhall church to Line House. On the estate map there is no trace of this last road and the Newent-Dymock road, which touched the eastern boundary of the Foley estate, is marked as merely a narrow lane.

The likeliest explanation for these discrepancies is that Taylor, already familiar with this area near his home in Ross from surveying the neighbouring parishes in Herefordshire in the early 1750s and journeying to Worcestershire in the 1760s did not bring himself fully up-to-date. In 1769 the Gloucester to Newent turnpike road, extended by act of Parliament to Ledbury, had been altered by lowering and

[51] GA, Photocopy 5.

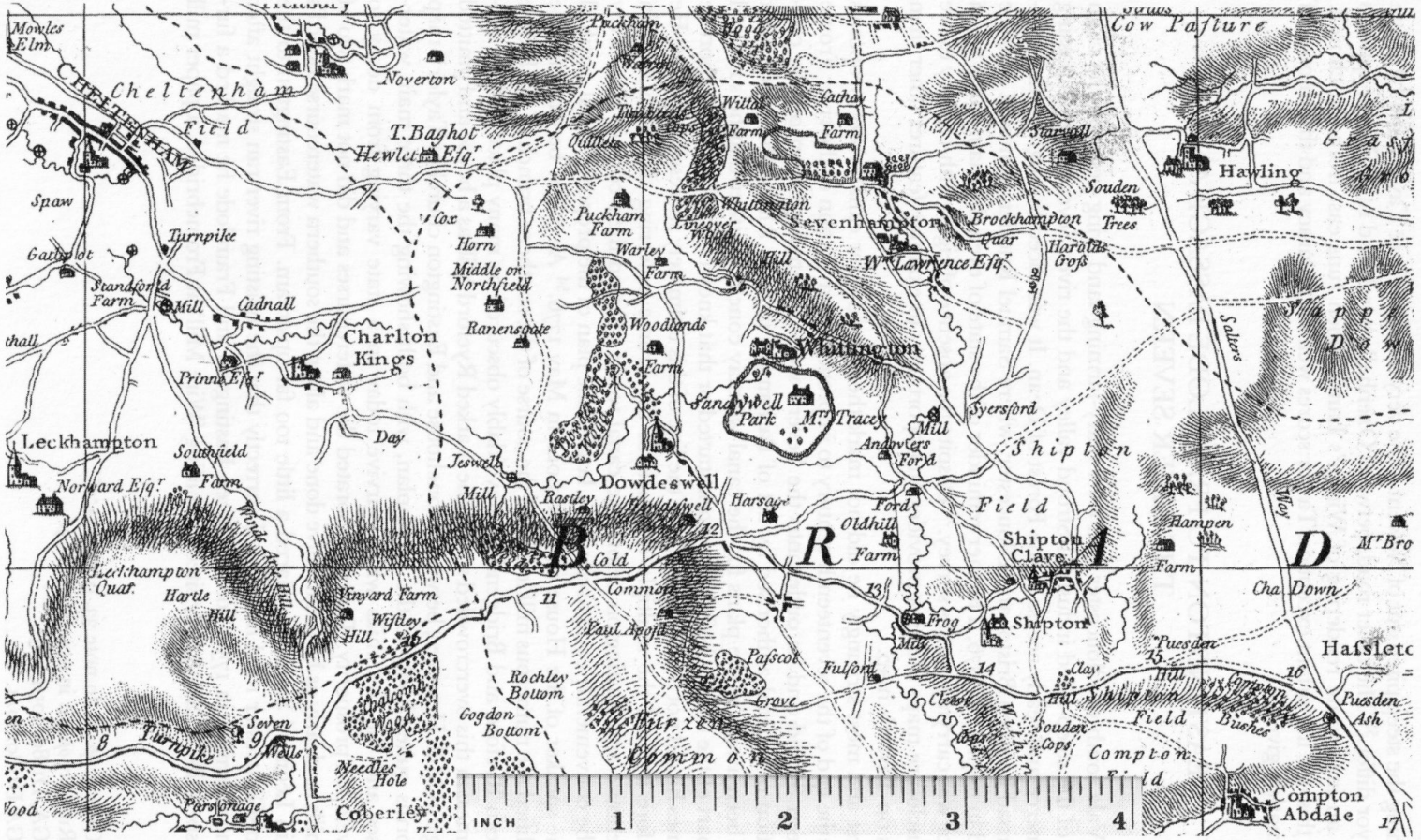

Fig 3. Oxenhall

widening the steep pitch out of Newent—the very section where Taylor and the estate surveyor differ.[52] The other road, between Oxenhall church and Line House, appears to be an inaccurate rendering of Winter's Lane, which runs east from the church. With this one important exception Taylor scores well for accuracy and the amount of information given.

EASTINGTON TO FRAMILODE PASSAGE AND THE RIVER SEVERN

The Vale south of Gloucester was level dairy-farming land lying between the cloth mills of the steep-sided industrial Stroud valley and the river Severn with its passing commerce and ready access to the Forest of Dean. It was sliced through by the turnpike road between Bristol and Gloucester, where Samuel Rudder witnessed a chaise mired in its mud in 1776, a further reminder of the state of even the main roads when Taylor was carrying out his survey.[53] Despite the absence of eighteenth-century estate and inclosure maps the area provides an opportunity to examine features other than roads on Taylor's map.

First and most strikingly he did not mark the Stroudwater canal. After proposals from the end of the seventeenth century to improve the navigation of the river Frome between Stroud and its outlet into the Severn work eventually began on the construction of a canal authorised by act of Parliament in 1776. Although Taylor must have been aware of the plans for the canal we may conclude either that he surveyed this part of the county before the work started or that knowing of the earlier abortive schemes he did not think it fit to draw the line of this ultimately successful venture. He therefore showed the multiple channels of the Frome powering the cloth mills in Stonehouse and Eastington before the canal works affected their course. His survey may be conveniently compared with a large-scale plan of the proposed canal certified by the speaker of the House of Commons in May 1776.[54] As might be expected he simplified the numerous mill leets and the course of the southern branch of the Frome between Ryeford and Bridgend is unavoidably obscured by many place and personal names; in this overcrowded section he marked Ryeford Mill as a house and omitted Bridgend Mill. However, between Stonehouse and Eastington churches Taylor's map conforms quite closely to the canal plan, with both showing the three main watercourses and the five mills which survive today in a state varying from decay to redeveloped prosperity. Taylor elaborated the watercourses and did not mark two of the mills as clearly as he might have done and along the southern watercourse Beard's Mill in Leonard Stanley is placed a little too far upstream. From Eastington to the Bristol-Gloucester road he showed correctly that the twisting river ran straight after its improvement in 1759–60.[55] Between Eastington and Framilode he marked a further six mills, all accurately sited, including 'Wire Mill' at Fromebridge, a paper mill

[52] Owens, *op. cit.* in note 33, p. 19.
[53] Rudder, *op. cit.* in note 49, p. 813.
[54] GA, D1180/1050, 1051.
[55] GA D1180/10/1.

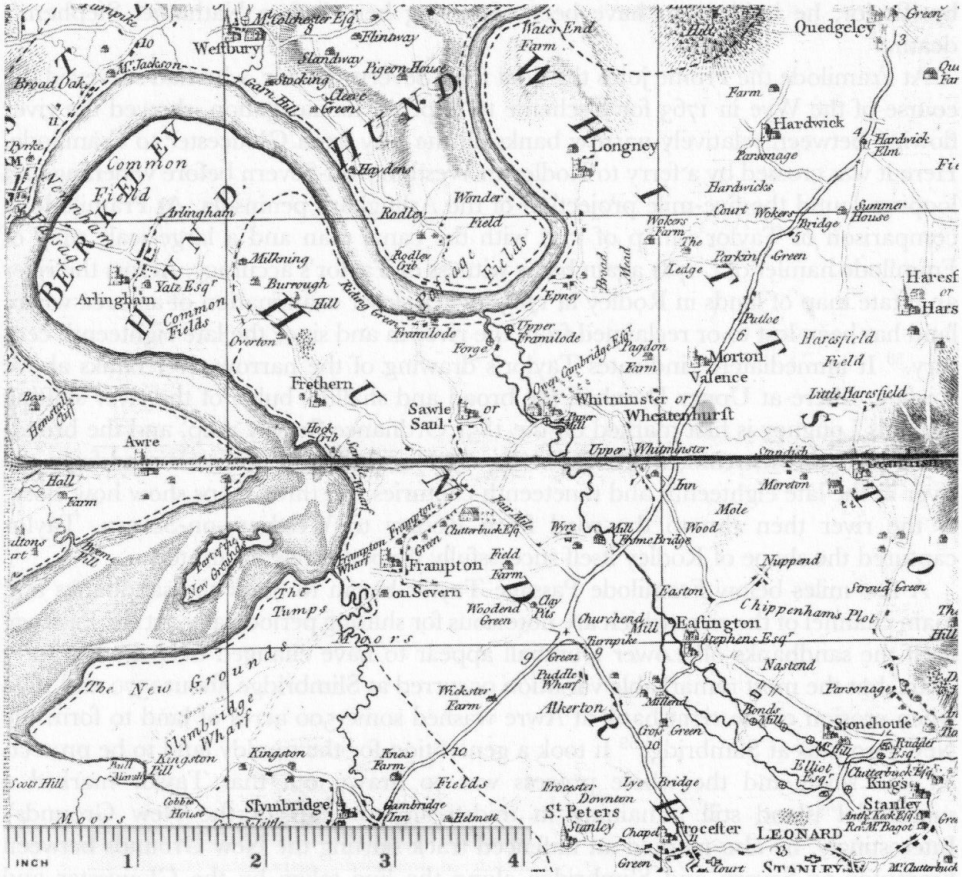

Fig 4. The Vale and river Frome

at Whitminster and the 'Forge' and mill at Upper Framilode, a complex of corn, iron and tinplate mills.[56]

Along the river's course he named the occupants of the principal residences of prominent clothiers and gentry, Richard Clutterbuck of Peckstreet House and Court Farm, from a long established family of clothiers and landowners, the architect Anthony Keck of Beech House, the Revd Kynard Baghott at the Rectory and [John] Elliot of Downton, all in King's Stanley, a Mr Rudder at Ryford, [William] Hill of Upper Mill, both in Stonehouse, one of the Stephens brothers, lords of the manor of Eastington and Owen Cambridge, poet, of Whitminster House. All these people had resided in the area since at least 1773. A small but not particularly helpful clue as to the date of Taylor's survey comes from the Stephens brothers. Richard Stephens died about 1770, to be succeeded by his younger brothers, Nathaniel (d. 1776), Robert (d. 1777) and Henry (d. 1795). As Robert was in holy orders, usually distinguished

[56] *VCH Glos.*, vol. x, pp. 251–2, 262, 278–282, which supersede J. Tann, *Gloucestershire woollen mills*, 1967.

by Taylor, he is likely to have been surveying here before Nathaniel Stephens's death.[57]

At Framilode the Frome joins the tidal river Severn. Taylor, who had surveyed the course of the Wye in 1763 for a scheme to improve its navigation, showed the river flowing between relatively narrow banks all the way from Gloucester to Framilode. Here it was crossed by a ferry to Rodley in Westbury-on-Severn before widening and looping round the five-mile projection of the Arlingham peninsula. At Framilode, a comparison of Taylor's map of 1777 with the canal plan and a large-scale map of Framilode hamlet of *c.* 1781 again bears witness of Taylor's accuracy. Across the river an estate map of lands in Rodley in 1785 invites closer examination of an area where land has been lost to or reclaimed from the river in and since the late eighteenth century.[58] It immediately vindicates Taylor's drawing of the narrow river banks above Rodley, where at Upper Dumball the broad and shallow bulge of the river shifting towards Longney is first marked on the 1831 Ordnance Survey map, and the broadening river downstream, where at the Lower Dumball land was reclaimed from the river in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. All three maps show how closely the river then ran to the road from Rodley to Westbury-on-Severn. Taylor captured the shape of Rodley itself successfully if not entirely accurately.

A few miles below Framilode Passage Taylor began to mark the sandbanks and main channel of the river which are notorious for shifting periodically. At the Passsage itself the sandbanks off Lower Dumball appear to have changed over the last forty years, but the most remarkable variation occurred at Slimbridge about 1570 and 1630 when erosion of the right bank at Awre washed some 500 acres of land to form the New Grounds at Slimbridge[59] It took a generation for the muddy land to be protected and sown and the whole process was so drawn out that Taylor marked a substantial island still remaining in midstream as 'Part of the New Grounds'. Interestingly, he also marked an unfenced track skirting the New Grounds between Frampton-on-Severn and Slimbridge along the line taken by the Gloucester and Berkeley canal in 1827. It is entirely plausible although it does not appear on the Frampton inclosure map of 1814. Downstream he drew the course of the main channel of the river, clearly swinging from bank to bank and below Berkeley divided by sandbanks and stony shallows all the way to King Road off Avonmouth. It is difficult to gauge his accuracy. The construction of the canal reshaped the point at Sharpness and the pills and streams near Berkeley. Lower downstream his landmarks of the river bank, its sea walls from Berkeley to Aust Cliff, the ferry passages at Aust and Redwick are matched by the first edition of the Ordnance Survey, with the main channel hugging the right bank to Lydney where it crosses to the left bank. Off Shepperdine and Oldbury, where the Ordnance Survey cautiously noted 'Variable' and marked features of the shallows and sandbanks pushing the channel back to the right bank Taylor also marked a variety of streams and isolated rocks through which

[57] *Ibid.*, pp. 128, 244, 246, 249, 255, 280, 292.

[58] *Ibid.*, p. 80; GA, D2123.

[59] Ordnance Survey 1:50000 First Series 1974, Sheet 162, incorporating low water mark plotted 1963–70, compared with personal observation from Framilode, April 2006; Sir John Maclean ed., *The Berkeley manuscripts, vol. III, A description of the hundred of Berkeley...by John Smyth, of Nibley*, Gloucester 1885, pp. 330–31, 337–47.

ships had to steer to reach the safety of the King Road at the mouth of the Bristol Avon. His route was not precisely the same as the Ordnance Survey's, but it is unlikely, given the passage of time between the two maps, that the sandbanks had remained unchanged.

The whole complex area of the Frome, with its side streams, mills and country houses, and the Severn with its shifting course are mapped with commendable accuracy.

CONCLUSIONS

Taylor's one-inch to one-mile map is a huge advance on the preceding smaller scale county maps of Gloucestershire, such as those of Robert Morden 1695, Emmanuel Bowen and Thomas Kitchin 1760, and Bowen c. 1762–4. Claiming that he had already made a start on mapping Gloucestershire he invited subscriptions in 1769 with the promise of completion within two years but he did not publish the map until 1777. His success in attracting subscribers is unknown but the delay occurred partly because his time was taken up in completing his map of Worcestershire, advertised in 1763 but not published until 1772, and in surveying up to 80 estate maps for clients in Devon and Dorset between 1768 and 1777.[60]

It is likely that he began the survey in the north-west of the county before 1769. He recorded Avening before the death of Samuel Sheppard in 1770 and did not mark Gatcombe Park, where building started in 1771.[61] The evidence of estate maps suggests that he surveyed an area east of Cirencester before 1771–2. He noted the ownership of Adlestrop before the death of James Leigh in 1774 but of both Barnsley and Kempsford after 1773, the year in which Henry Perrott of Barnsley Park died and Lord Coleraine bought the manor of Kempsford. In the Vale he recorded Frampton-on-Severn and Eastington before work started on the canal in 1776 and the deaths of Richard Clutterbuck (1775) and Nathaniel Stephens (1776). Nearer Bristol the personal names appear to have been inserted or brought up-to-date in a late revision. At Stoke Bishop he recorded Henry Lippincott, who did not marry the heiress Catherine Cann Jeffries until 1774, at Westbury-on-Trym John Thomas who sold Cote House about 1775, and at Kingsweston Lord Clifford, the title taken by Edward Southwell in 1776.[62]

His methods of surveying, his assistants and his expenses have not been traced. Spelling and other mistakes in draughtsmanship suggest that he employed an engraver without closely overseeing his work. His advertisements in 1769 and in the *Gloucester Journal* in 1777 reveal that the map sold at one guinea (£1.05) to subscribers and £1 4*s*.0*d*. (£1.20) to non-subscribers.[63] The amount of information on the map is not only much greater than its forerunners but also in some respects more extensive

[60] *Berrow's Worcester Journal*, 15 Sept. 1763.

[61] Light, *op. cit.* in note 40, p. 46.

[62] Kingsley, *op.cit.* in note 26,, vol. 1 (1989), pp. 59, 123; vol.2 (1992), pp. 47, 66, 109, 146, 149, 168, 233.

[63] GA, D674a/F4; *Gloucester Journal*, 30 June 1777: I am grateful to Dr N.M. Herbert for this reference.

than its successors. Neither the one-inch county maps of the Greenwoods and Bryant, published within ten days of each other in the last weeks of 1824, nor the first edition of the Ordnance Survey published in 1828–31 named the principal property owners, distinguished the architectural features of parish churches and country houses or indicated the orders of monasteries and friaries. Neither Greenwood nor Bryant marked all the mills, Greenwood left out the sandbanks of the Severn and all three succeeding one-inch maps, especially Bryant's, continued to be riddled with the misspelling of minor place-names.

In contemporary terms Taylor was neither an innovator nor as accomplished as some of his rivals. But it would be a generation later before his single-handed pioneering work would be far surpassed by the Ordnance Survey's teams carrying out more thorough fieldwork in Gloucestershire in 1811–17, on which the private map-publishers like the Greenwoods and Bryant were permitted to base their maps. Not until the Survey revised and published its own one-inch maps was Taylor's map entirely replaced. In examining the map more closely within its context the present study confirms earlier impressions that the map must be used with caution. Consistency cannot be expected. Corroboration from other contemporary resources is desirable. Minor roads were deliberately omitted. Mistakes occur, weakening trust in the whole. Nevertheless, the overall picture of the Gloucestershire landscape in about 1775 is well displayed and broadly correct. There is a mass of accurate detail and the amount of new information is varied and extensive. Whatever its shortcomings it was a remarkable achievement and it remains an indispensable source for the history of the county.

LOCATION OF COPIES IN PUBLIC COLLECTIONS

10 March 1777
Publisher: Isaac Taylor, Ross

Birmingham Central Library	912.4241 Skett 1
Bodleian Library, Oxford	Gough Maps Gloucestershire 13
Bodleian Library, Oxford	Allen 183
British Library	Maps 2450 (5)
British Library	Maps K.Top.1365. 2 Tab
Cambridge University Library	Maps.a.62.77.1
Gloucestershire Archives	D 1447/5/2
Gloucestershire Archives	MA 19/23
John Rylands Library, Manchester	[Not traced in 2006]
National Library of Scotland	EME.b.1.18
National Library of Wales	Atlas, Folio 90, c.146/3/6

21 August 1786
Publisher : William Faden, London

Cambridge University Library	Maps.b.62.78.1
Cambridge University Library	Maps.b.62.78.2
National Library of Scotland	EME.s.30
National Library of Scotland	Newman.1088
The National Archives, Kew	MR1/331

24 November 1800
Second edition.
Publisher: William Faden, London

Bodleian Library, Oxford	(E) C17:31 (41)
Bodleian Library, Oxford	Allen 186
British Library	Maps *2450 (6)
Gloucestershire Archives	MA 19/24
Royal Geographical Society, London	England & Wales D.25

1 February 1800
½ inch to one mile edition.
Publisher: William Faden, London

Bodleian Library, Oxford	C17 a.4
Bodleian Library, Oxford	Allen 187
British Library	Maps M.T.6.b.2 (21)
Cambridge University Library	Atlas.3.80.1
Gloucestershire Archives (*ex* Glos Colln., Gloucester Library)	SR86/1800TaylorGS (4 copies)
National Library of Scotland	EME.s.27
Royal Geographical Society, London	England & Wales D.24

There are no copies in Bristol and Cheltenham public libraries.

APPENDIX
THE SOCIETY'S REPRINT OF 1961

According to the introduction to the *Atlas* a proposal to reprint Taylor's map of Gloucestershire had been considered by the Society for some years but was frustrated by the lack of a first-class copy fit for reproduction. Not until 1959–60 was the difficulty overcome at the instigation of Major W.L. King MC of Cheltenham. Wilfred King, a member of the Society from 1955 until his death in 1972, had been a master at Cheltenham College since 1920 and was College librarian 1954–64. In the latter capacity he was custodian of an excellent copy of Taylor's map, formerly owned by the collector Sir Thomas Phillipps.

King found an enthusiastic ally in Irvine Gray, County Records Officer 1948–68, who had long been interested in maps and was mindful of the publication in 1950 by the Essex Record Office of Chapman and André's similar map of Essex, coincidentally also originally published in 1777.[64] The Society's Council approved the venture but decided in the autumn of 1960 to include in the publication other printed maps and plans of the county, the city of Bristol and the principal towns within the county. These were selected by King, Gray and Elizabeth Ralph (Bristol city archivist 1937–71, secretary of the Society 1948–86). They were joined in a small sub-committee by Ivor Parrott, Gloucester city librarian and, as production manager, by Captain Stewart Gracie RN, then editor of the Society's *Transactions*.[65] Neither King nor Gray wished to be credited with editing the volume, preferring that the maps should speak for themselves. In the event Gray undertook the minimal editorial work that was considered necessary.

In February 1961 a print-run of 1,500 was approved, with copies to be sold at 12*s.* 6*d.* to the Society's members, 12*s.* 6*d.* plus the cost of carriage to schools within the county and Bristol, and £1.1*s.*0*d.* to the public—the same price that Isaac Taylor had charged subscribers in 1777. The printers were Percy Lund Humphries Co. Ltd of London and Bradford and distribution to the public was put in the hands of an agent, Alec Tiranti of Bradford. The aim was to publish before Christmas 1961, with pre-publication orders for about 350 copies for members and about 250 for the schools, leaving 900 for sale through bookshops. It was, however, not until mid November that the first sheets came off the printing presses for approval. King questioned the choice of cream paper but was assured by R.A. Skelton, Keeper of Maps at the British Museum, that this was the most appropriate. Printing went ahead for the first copies to become available by 9 December.

Both King and Gray were disappointed with the quality of the reproduction, which seemed to them less sharp than the proofs.[66] Moreover, demand did not justify a second printing, as King had hoped, in order that the Society might recoup its expenditure in full. However, the Society received letters of appreciation and a favourable review in the October 1962 issue of the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, which spoke of the 'aesthetic and antiquarian appeal' of the *Atlas*.

[64] *A reproduction of a map of the county of Essex 1777 by John Chapman and PeterAndré*, Chelmsford 1950. On demobilisation Gray began his post-war new career as an archivist in the Essex Record Office.

[65] 'Report of Council, 1960', *Trans.B.G.A.S.*, vol. LXXX (1961), pp. 192–3; 'Report of Council, 1961', *ibid.*, vol. LXXXI (1962), p. 226; GA, D2634 [Acc. 7996], Box 1. I am grateful to David Smith, colleague, friend and county archivist in succession to Irvine Gray and myself, for access to the Society's files deposited on loan in Gloucestershire Archives but not fully catalogued at the time of my research.

[66] *Ex inf.* Irvine Gray in 1960–61, when the author was his senior assistant archivist.

X

Landowners and Merchants: Eighteenth-Century Enterprises and Commercial Ventures

JOSEPH BETTEY

THE FOLLOWING paper is based mainly on the records of two early eighteenth-century attorneys, both of whom lived at Long Ashton, just across the river Avon from Bristol. Both were closely involved with estate management, trading ventures and industrial enterprises in Bristol and north Somerset. Their records survive as part of the extensive archive of the Calley family of Burderop Park near Swindon which is now deposited in the Wiltshire and Swindon Record Office.[1] As well showing many features of the dramatic changes which were occurring in commerce through the port of Bristol, industry within the city and agricultural developments in north Somerset, the records also illustrate the importance of attorneys, not only in pursuing legal suits, drafting leases, transferring property and concluding agreements on behalf of clients, but also in acting as land agents and estate stewards for the landed gentry.[2] Without the careful preservation of such records by successive attorneys, much invaluable material concerning local history would have been lost. The records of these two attorneys also illustrate the way in which personal, legal and business accounts can migrate, and are now to be found in family archives and in locations far distant from their place of origin.

Four people were involved in the creation, preservation and eventual destination of these records. The first was George Webb, attorney, of Coxey Close Farm, Long Ashton, who died in 1751. He was the son of Obadiah Webb of Long Ashton and inherited from his father, not only the farm, but also quarries, clay-pits and a brick-works along the banks of the Avon. He was a member of the Middle Temple and was involved as an attorney with many business enterprises in Bristol. The second attorney was Robert Codrington of Rownham House, Long Ashton who died in 1764. He came from Didmarton, Gloucestershire, and was a member of the Codrington family who owned much land in south Gloucestershire and was prominently involved with trade from Bristol. He was the nephew, and later the executor, of Col. John Codrington who had married Elizabeth, only daughter and heiress of Samuel Gorges of Wraxall Court (d.1699). He was also the legal advisor and executor of Sir John Smyth of Ashton Court (d.1741). His records therefore include much information about estate management and industrial developments across a large area of north Somerset, including Wraxall, Nailsea, Flax Bourton, Tickenham and Long Ashton.

[1] Wiltshire & Swindon Record Office (WSRO), 1178.

[2] For an account of the work of attorneys in Bristol during the 18th century see John Lyes, '*A Strong Smell of Brimstone': The Solicitors and Attorneys of Bristol 1740–1840*, Bristol Historical Association, (1999).

The third person involved with these records was Capt. William Stretton, master mariner, (d.1737) of St Michael's Hill, Bristol. He had made numerous profitable voyages from Bristol, and had invested his wealth in land, property and business activities in Bristol and north Somerset. He was chief lieutenant and later joint-captain on the *Dutchess* in the highly-profitable privateering voyage to the Pacific by the *Duke* and *Dutchess* organised from Bristol by Captain Woodes Rogers which circumnavigated the world during the years 1708–11. Some of Stretton's wealth also came from dangerous but potentially lucrative slave-trading voyages. For example, in February 1718 he made a will, 'being bound on a voyage', leaving everything to his wife, Mary. The voyage was in the *Prince Eugene,* a vessel of 200 tons, with a crew of 50, and owned by John Duckinfield and company. It sailed to Madagascar and thence transported a cargo of 340 slaves to York river, Virginia, returning to Bristol in October 1719.[3] He employed George Webb as his attorney, and Webb was the executor of his will and became the guardian of his children. William Stretton's eldest daughter, Mary, is the fourth person involved with the preservation of these records. As soon as she came of age, she married her guardian, George Webb, and resided at Coxey Close Farm, Long Ashton. When George Webb died in 1751, Mary married Robert Codrington, who thus acquired all Webb's legal papers. Robert Codrington's sister, Anne, was married to Oliver Calley, an attorney from Overtown House, Wroughton, Wiltshire. When Codrington died in 1764 all his papers, including those acquired from Webb, passed to his brother-in-law and executor Oliver Calley. From him they eventually became part of the archive of the Calley family, who were major landowners in north-east Wiltshire.

The records of the administration of the Gorges and Smyth estates by Robert Codrington provide much evidence about agricultural advances on farms at Long Ashton, Wraxall, Tickenham, Failand and the surrounding area. There are numerous leases, account books and agreements over repairs to farmhouses and barns. The growing market for meat and liquid milk in Bristol is reflected in the building of cattle sheds and facilities for indoor milking, as well as in notebooks recording sales of milk, cheese, eggs, meat and cider. Similar evidence of agricultural innovation is found in the records kept by another attorney, Samuel Worrall of Bristol. He was involved in numerous tithe disputes over lands in Bristol and north Somerset on behalf of the bishop of Bristol. In particular, there was much controversy over tithes owed by farmers who had adopted the new practice of under-sowing barley with clover, and then using the former arable land as pasture for four or five years. Others were enclosing land out of the common arable fields in order to sow clover, sainfoin, cinquefoil and other new fodder crops. This change from arable to pasture meant a loss of tithe for the bishop.[4] The concern for improved management and winter feeding for livestock clearly reflects the increasing demand for meat and milk from the rapidly-growing and prosperous port of Bristol.

Attempts to exploit the resources of estates include an agreement of c1700 to erect a wind-powered water pump at Wraxall, and a lease of land on Wraxall Hill dated

[3] Bristol Record Office (BRO), 4116/4; 21782. J.W. Damer Powell, *Bristol Privateers and Ships of War*, Bristol (1930) 103–4, 129. Donald Jones, *Captain Woodes Rogers' Voyage round the World 1708–11*, Bristol Historical Association, (1992). David Richardson, ed., 'Bristol, Africa & the Eighteenth-Century Slave Trade to America', *Bristol Record Society*, 38, (1986), 75.

[4] WSRO, 1178/171; 316; 371; 455; 564. BRO, EP/E/16/1–3.

1708 for a rabbit warren.[5] The purpose of the pump was to drain a coal mine, and illustrates the development of deep mining in the Nailsea coal seams instead of the earlier practice of obtaining coal from shallow bell-pits. It marks the beginning of large-scale mining at Nailsea. The agreement was made between John Bryant, millwright, of Portbury, and William Wynter of Wraxall, gentleman, John Godwin of Nailsea, yeoman, and Thomas Mudge of Nailsea, coalminer. Bryant agreed to erect and maintain a windmill on the hillside at South Park, Wraxall, sufficient to pump water from a shaft 12 fathoms deep. This was described as 'an Engine to goe with the winde in manner as a windmill, in the Parks called South Parkes in Wraxall, to draw water out of the Pitt now begunne there, with the helpe of Pumps, from the depth of Twelve Fathoms'. John Bryant had already received 21s 6d, and was promised £15 for buying timber and materials, and £25 more 'when the engine is finished'. He was to be paid £2 per annum during the next seven years 'wherein hee, the said John Bryant, doth hereby undertake and promise to keep in repayre the said Engine'. The land for the mine was leased from Edward Gorges of Wraxall Court.[6]

A lease granted in 1708 by Edward Gorges to Edward and William Sperrin of Wraxall, yeomen, was for a coney or rabbit warren. This was said to be 'scituate and lying on the south side of Wraxall Hill, on the south side of Broade Roadeways leading from the old Thorne in the said Roade on the west bottom below Failands Cross to the end of Wraxall Hill westwards'. Far from being the pests which they later became, rabbits were highly prized for their flesh, skins and for their fur, which was used in the manufacture of hats. There was a ready market for them in Bristol, and from hatters in the surrounding area where large numbers of fur or 'beaver' hats were made for export to the New World. The fecundity and profitability of rabbits is reflected in the high rentals that could be charged for warrens, while the production of rabbits provided a good use for the shallow soil of hillsides. Within the warrens, rabbits were carefully nurtured; artificial burrows were provided, dug into terraces or 'flatts' on the hillside, or made in artificial mounds known as 'pillow mounds'. Rabbits were fed and protected with straw, bracken or furze from the harsh eighteenth-century winters. The lease of the warren on Wraxall Hill included 'all Burroughs [burrows] and Flatts [terraces] there now being and leave to make only two Flatts more at any place on the said Hill'. A breeding stock of 80 couple of rabbits was to be maintained in the warren, and it is an indication of their productivity that a rental of £5 per annum could be charged. In addition, the warreners agreed to provide for Edward Gorges or his servants 'as many good and saleable conneys as he or they shall have occasion for at any time' at the price of one shilling per couple, 'it being agreed not to exceed sixty couple in any one yeare'. This was one of several coney warrens along the Failand Ridge between Wraxall and Abbots Leigh.[7]

The accounts also include information on stone-quarries at Wraxall, including a detailed account dated 1754–6 listing various types of stone sold by Nathaniel Newton from a quarry at Edson's farm in the parish of Wraxall.[8] There are also surveys, rentals and valuation of the Smyth's estates in Gloucestershire and Somerset, wills,

[5] WSRO, 1178/588; 590.
[6] WSRO, 1178/588.
[7] WSRO, 1178/590.
[8] WSRO, 1178/616.

inventories and marriage settlements relating to the Webb, Codrington, Gorges and Smyth families. A series of leases and other documents dating from 1717 to 1748 provide much information about the ferry which operated across the Avon from Hotwells to Rownham, and about the inn at Rownham known as Passage Inn, which supplied refreshment and shelter to those using the ferry. The ferry was evidently very profitable. The ferry had belonged to the Augustinian abbey of Bristol, and in 1542 had become part of the endowment of the newly-formed Bristol cathedral. It was leased to a succession of entrepreneurs who in turn leased it to the ferry operators. Leases of the right to operate the ferry dated 1732 and 1748 from Joan Day, widow, of Redland in the parish of Westbury-on-Trym to William Bucher, victualler of Clifton, show that the ferry and the inn together commanded an annual rental of £100. The property described in the lease included the inn itself, an adjacent cottage, together with five acres of meadow and pasture across the river 'near the Hotwell in the parish of Clifton'. The lease granted 'all benefit, profitt and advantage of the passage over the River Avon there called Rownham Passage, with free liberty of keeping boats for passing and repassing the said River on both sides thereof for the carrying over and landing of Passengers, Horses and Cattle at the Slips there with free use of the said Slips'. One condition was that the lessee was obliged 'to prevent and hinder all persons whatsoever from keeping of any Boat or Boats for passing and repassing passengers horses and cattle over the said River—or between the said City of Bristol and the Hotwell House'.[9]

An inventory of the Passage House Inn dated 1745 lists a parlour, kitchen, pantry, back kitchen, brewhouse and cellar, together with five chambers on the upper floor. There were numerous beds, large quantities of cooking and brewing equipment, dishes, pewter plates, cutlery, tables and 12 chairs. There were ten bushells of malt and four pounds of hops in the brewhouse, and the stock included two hogsheads and four barrels of beer, one of ale, three bottles of wine, two bottles of shrub [rum with lemon juice and sugar] and two bottles of rum.[10] The inn obviously provided ample facilities for passengers waiting for the tide to make it possible to row the ferry-boat across the river.

On the Long Ashton side of the river Avon were several clay-pits and a brickworks. There was a wharf along the banks of the Avon, and a building described as a 'Cupola' or 'Cupelow'. The reverberatory furnaces used for smelting copper and lead were known in the Bristol region as 'cupolas', and a copper-smelting works had been established on the site beside the Avon in Long Ashton parish by Sir Clement Clerke in 1688. Later, his son, Sir Talbot Clerke, had formed a company for smelting lead, and during the 1720s a further attempt at copper-smelting was carried on there. A navigation chart of the river Avon from Bristol to the Severn made by Greenville Collins in c1694 marks the site as 'Silver House', presumably a reference to the lead-smelting works.[11] Some notes written by Oliver Calley in 1756 mention that Obadiah Webb, father of the attorney George Webb, had set up 'a Clayworks below the Cupelow' and had made a roadway to it by blowing up rocks along the side of the

[9] WSRO, 1178/592; 611; 654.

[10] WSRO, 1178/653; 654; 680.

[11] Joan Day, *Bristol Brass*, (1973), 66. J.W. Damer Powell, *Bristol Privateers and Ships of War*, Bristol, (1930).

river at considerable expense. Oliver Calley stated that until 1733 there was no road for wheeled vehicles along the bank of the Avon, but only 'a horse or halter path'. Obadiah Webb claimed exclusive rights to the road which he had created, and this gave rise to numerous disputes. Several lawsuits against others who used the road were instigated by Obadiah Webb 'who was a Man not easily to be prevailed with to yield up a Supposed Right'. The roadway was inherited by the attorney George Webb, and after his death in 1751 his widow, Mary Webb, 'set up Gates to prevent all persons from driving wheeled carriages over the said piece of ground'. When Jarrit Smith acquired the Ashton Court estate on the death of Sir John Smyth in 1741 'he beat the Lock off from the said Gate and threw the said Gate into the River' in order to ensure unrestricted access 'to and from the Cupelow'.[12]

There are leases of the Cupola in 1717 and 1746, but none of the documents mention the purpose of the building. A lease from Sir John Smyth to Thomas Willetts of Wraxall, yeoman, dated 23 September 1717, concerning 'a new erected messuage, garden and orchard at Rownham near the River side in the parish of Long Ashton' is described on the outside as 'Mr Willetts lease of the Cupola'. There is no indication of industrial use. The cupola is shown on a drawing of the Bristol Hotwell by Sir James Thornhill of c1717 and appears to be a residence rather than an industrial site. It also is included on Jacob De Wilstar's map of Clifton dated 1746 where it is marked as 'Cupilo', and appears as a large irregular building, but without any indication of its purpose. The Land Tax Assessment for Long Ashton in 1758 includes 'The Cupiloes' in the occupation of 'Mr Stretton'. It was assessed at the modest sum of 3s od[13] The clay workings on the river bank which had been started by Obadiah Webb, were continued by his son George. The clay was supplied to potteries in Bristol, and to glass-makers who used it to produce the pots or crucibles in which the raw materials for glass were melted. The production of the pots was a specialised and important part of the glass industry, since in the furnaces the pots had to withstand very high temperatures for long periods, and breakage resulted in a total loss of the molten glass. The clay was also used for a large-scale brick-making enterprise. There was a demand for bricks in Bristol for the construction of the large glass-house 'cones' or furnaces which, as will be discussed later, were becoming a distinctive feature of the Bristol skyline during the early decades of the eighteenth century. Account books kept by Obadiah and George Webb provide details of clay-working and brick-production, and record sales of bricks to glass-makers in Bristol, to Nehemiah Champion's brassworks at Baptist Mills, Bristol, and the dispatch of bricks by sea to London, Swansea and Cardiff, and to ports along the coast including Barnstaple, St Ives, Penzance and Truro. In 1736 Obadiah Webb granted a lease of one of the clay-pits to Stephen Collier of Bristol, glass-maker, giving him exclusive rights to extract clay for his glass-making process.[14]

The large collection of documents amassed by the two attorneys, George Webb and Robert Codrington, includes two account books kept by a Bristol merchant John

[12] WSRO, 1178/678.

[13] WSRO, 1178/592; 654. Bristol Museum & Art Gallery M4155. BRO, AC/B71; Jacob De Wilstar's map of Clifton for the Merchant Venturers Society 1746. I am grateful to Francis Greenacre for information on this subject.

[14] WSRO, 1178/651.

Norman, covering the years 1722 to 1733. John Norman was a prominent Bristol merchant and shipowner. He was Master of the Society of Merchant Venturers in 1727–8, a governor of the Bristol Corporation of the Poor, and a lieutenant in the Bristol trainband regiment, commanded by the Lord Lieutenant of Bristol, Henry Somerset, 2nd Duke of Beaufort.[15]

He had been engaged in trading voyages from Bristol to the Mediterranean, the West Indies, the American colonies and Newfoundland, and was also an active promoter of slave-trading voyages to Africa. His own ship, the *Antelope*, commanded by James Eustace, was regularly involved in transporting slaves to Barbados, Jamaica and Virginia, and he also invested in other slave-trading enterprises from Bristol. [16] One of his notebooks lists his share in providing insurance for ships sailing from Bristol and to payments made for losses. The large number of ships mentioned illustrates the extent of trading activity from the port of Bristol, and the small size of many of the vessels which set out on such long voyages. There are references to insurances granted for voyages promoted by numerous prominent Bristol merchants, including William Reeves, Isaac Hobhouse, Nehemiah Champion, Paul Fisher, James Hilhouse, Peter Day and many others. The insurance risks were spread among several insurers, so that the sums paid out by John Norman for losses were comparatively modest. For example:

8 April 1722 *Robert & Henry* lost at Jamaica £40 os od
Union lost from the Streights £14 os od

12 July 1722 *Frederick* lost at Jamaica £35 7s 6d

6 June 1723 Loss of the *Mary Gally* of Liverpool, lost in Jamaica
£28 10s od paid to James Hilham

2 January 1724 Loss on the *Friendship* sloop £84 10s od

12 July 1724 *King William* lost at Jamaica £22 os od

1 August 1724 *Ann James* for Africa £42.

In spite of these losses, the payments which Norman received for the very large number of ships insured made this a profitable enterprise.[17]

Another account book covering the years 1729 to 1733 consists of rough notes and calculations recording John Norman's own trading ventures. During 1729–30 he imported unspecified quantities of sugar from Barbados and cotton in the ship *John and Betty*. In May 1729 his own ship the *Antelope* commanded by John Eustace, brought back sugar, cotton, indigo and 28 logs of dyewood, known as 'Fustick' from Barbados. His scribbled calculations are not easy to follow, but the cargo appears to have been worth £4024 os 9d, and the costs in wages, porters, taxes, pilotage and payment to investors amounted to £1909 15s 1 3/4d. In September 1730 he received 23 hogsheads of sugar from Barbados in the ship *Benjamin*. During 1731 he records several cargoes of sugar brought to Bristol in various ships, including 16 casks of indigo which came

[15] WSRO, 1178/699; 700. A.B. Beaven, *Bristol Lists*, (1889), 377.
[16] David Richardson, ed., *op.cit.*, 38, 115, 144, 162, 169, 176.
[17] WSRO, 1178/699.

from Jamaica in the *Swift,* and two more casks of indigo loaded in the *Loyal George.* These ships were all involved in the triangular trade, sailing from Bristol to the west coast of Africa for slaves, thence to the West Indies and returning to Bristol with sugar, molasses, rum, indigo and dyewood. John Norman evidently had a major share in the *Antelope* and records the profits derived from three of her voyages to Africa and the West Indies, although without any reference to the cargoes carried in the ship. The notebook is concerned only with imports from the New World, and mentions the African trade only incidentally.[18]

Finally, a major and particularly interesting series of documents preserved by the two attorneys concerns the manufacture of window glass and bottles, in Bristol during the early eighteenth century. These records relate mainly to the Perrott family of glassmakers and came into the possession of George Webb through his involvement with the affairs of William Stretton, as was explained earlier. Stretton's connection with the Perrott's glass-making industry will be demonstrated in due course.

By the beginning of the eighteenth century Bristol was already a major centre of glass-making. There was a rising demand for both window glass and bottles for export to the American colonies and the West Indies, and the active trade in wine, rum, beer and cider, as well as the rapidly-increasing sales of water from the Bristol Hotwells, created a large demand for bottles. Coal for the manufacturing process was readily available, as was sand and clay which could be dug locally, and the alkali which was an essential element of glass-making could be obtained from sea-weed known as 'kelp', or from 'soapers ash' a waste product of soap-making which was a long-established industry in Bristol. The port provided a ready means of distribution, and a lucrative market was accessible in Bath when the Avon was made navigable by barges from Bristol in 1727. Already in 1698 there was concern in Bristol about the number of labourers drawn to the city by the increasing demand for labour at the glass-works, and fears lest they should become a charge on the poor rates.[19] In evidence before the House of Commons in 1698, Henry Dixon, a glass-blower at a Bristol glass-house, gave evidence that there were six establishments making bottle glass, and four 'white houses' producing window glass in the city.[20] Jacob Millerd's map of Bristol c1710 shows the sites of six glass-houses with their distinctive brick cones, and by the 1720s Daniel Defoe was impressed by the importance of the glass-making industry in the city:

> 'There are no less than fifteen glass-houses in Bristol, which is more than are in the city of London: They have indeed a very great expence of glass bottles, by sending them fill'd with beer, cyder, and wine to the West Indies, much more than goes from London; also great numbers of bottles, even such as is almost incredible, are now used for sending the waters of St Vincent's Rock [Hotwells] away, which are now carry'd, not all over England only, but, we may say, all over the world'.[21]

[18] WSRO, 1178/700.

[19] BRO, 35469/1–4.

[20] *House of Commons Journal,* XII, 21 May 1698. A.C. Powell, 'Glass-Making in Bristol', *Bristol & Gloucestershire Archaeological Society Transactions,* 47, (1925), 213. F. Buckley, 'The Early Glasshouses of Bristol' *Journal of the Society of Glass Technology,* 9, (1925), 36–41.

[21] Daniel Defoe, *Tour through England & Wales,* (1927 edn.), Vol. II, 115.

For a detailed account of an early Bristol glass-house at Cheese Lane on the east bank of the Avon see Reg Jackson, 'Excavations on the site of Sir Abraham Elton's glassworks, Cheese Lane, Bristol' *Post-Medieval Archaeology,* 39 Part 1, (2005), 92–132.

In 1739 the poet Alexander Pope counted more than twenty smoking cones of glass-works as he approached Bristol from Bath.[22] Further details and references for the Bristol glass industry, and an account of a glass-works in Portwall Street are given in the article by Reg Jackson which is the next essay in this volume.

From c1690 successive members of the Perrott family were heavily involved in glass production in Bristol. Earlier they had been established as glass-makers at Stourbridge, but had moved to Bristol as coal replaced wood for firing the glass furnaces.[23] The task of tracing individual members of the family is made difficult by the fact that through successive generations so many of the eldest sons were called Benjamin. In 1687 a Benjamin Perrott was living at Chelwood in north Somerset and was no doubt employed in the nearby glass-works at Stanton Wick.[24] By 1696 a Benjamin Perrott and his family were living at Temple Gate, Bristol and operating a glass-works there. He was evidently prosperous, since he was described as 'Mr' and was assessed for tax at £50.[25] In 1703 Benjamin Perrott and his son, Benjamin, entered into a complex agreement with a group of Stourbridge glass-makers to limit the production of 'Broad' or window glass to their mutual benefit.[26] Further evidence that the family was in comfortable circumstances can be seen in the fact that in 1702 Benjamin Perrott obtained from the Mayor and Corporation of Bristol a 99–year lease of a narrow strip of vacant land near his house and just outside the city wall, 'extending from Temple Gate under the Town Wall there quite down to the Round Tower called Tower Harris near the River Avon .... bounded with the said Town Wall on the One Side and the Ditch next Temple Meades on the other Side'. He was also granted the right to make a sluice in the ditch to keep out the tide provided he preserved 'the ancient Water course there sufficient to carry the Water and Filth that way passing into the said River as usually hath been'. He had to agree 'not to make any Doors [in the wall] or passages over the same Ditch which might make a Through Fare from within the Wall to the out parts of the city without going through the Gates and Ways as Usual'. The lease was determinable upon the lives of Benjamin Perrott, his son Benjamin Perrott and Frances Perrott, wife of Benjamin Perrott the younger.[27] In 1740 the lives of Benjamin Perrott the younger's son, John Standford Perrott aged 38, and the latter's son, Benjamin Jason Perrott aged 8, were substituted for those of Frances Perrott and Humphrey Perrott.[28]

Evidently this narrow strip of land was used by the Perrott family as a garden, since there are references to a summer house and an orchard near the Tower Harris or Harratz which stood near where the town ditch joined the Avon. Summer-time enjoyment of the garden must have been somewhat prejudiced at low tide by the

[22] George Sherburn, ed., *Correspondence of Alexander Pope*, (1956), Vol. IV, 201–5.
Cyril Weeden, 'Bristol Glassmakers', *Bristol Industrial Archaeological Society Journal*, 17, (1984), 15–29.

[23] W.H.B. Court, *Rise of the Midland Industries 1600–1838*, (1938), 125.
E.S. Godfrey, *The Development of English Glassmaking 1560–1640*, (1975), 63.

[24] Elizabeth Ralph, ed., *Marriage Bonds for Bristol 1637–1700*, (1952), 14 October 1687.

[25] Elizabeth Ralph & Mary Williams, eds., 'Inhabitants of Bristol in 1696', *Bristol Record Society*, 25, (1968).

[26] W.H.B. Court, *op.cit.*, 125.

[27] BRO, 00566/33y.

[28] BRO, 00566/21w.

town ditch and the 'Filth that way passing'. Leases recorded in the Contract Book kept by the Churchwardens and Vestry of St Mary Redcliffe provide much information about successive generations of the Perrott family. The sequence begins with a lease of 2 June 1697 to 'Mr Benjamin Perrott' of the house at Temple Gate 'wherein he dwells and of all the buildings thereon erected'. Later leases confirm that the house had formerly been known as the '*Rose & Crown*'. In 1704 building work undertaken on the site by Benjamin Perrott and his status within the parish was recognised as follows:

> That in consideration of the charges he has been at in making and lining of the two Pews in the Gallery of the Church of St Mary Redcliffe, he shall hold and enjoy the said two pews until such time as the same shall be made use of for the erecting and building of an Organ in the said gallery.

A renewal of the lease of the house at Temple Gate to Benjamin Perrott in 1714 names his two sons, Benjamin and Humphrey, and his grandsons, John Sandford Perrott and Benjamin Perrott. The Perrotts'glass-house was close to their house at Temple Gate, near the Phoenix Inn, and several other glass-houses were situated in the same area.[29] Benjamin Perrott, senior, was joined by his two sons, Benjamin and Humphrey, in his glass-making enterprise. As early as 1706 'Benjamin Perrott the younger of Bristol, glassmaker' signed an agreement with Edward Lowe and Jacob Little, glass-makers, to lease a property called the *Globe* in Bedminster and the glass-house adjacent to it. They agreed to be 'Partners and Joynt Traders together in the arte mistery or trade of white glassmakeing to be carried on in the said premises'.[30] Later, Benjamin Perrott was conducting his glass-making business in a glass-house to the east of St Mary Redcliffe church, in an area known as Cathay. This glass-house was at the end of Red Lane. The evidence for this comes from an unexpected source. A lease of land and an unspecified inn, in the area from Edward Davis, house-carpenter, to John Jones, inn-keeper, granted in 1734 describes the site as extending from Prewett Street to Mr Benjamin Perrott's garden.[31] A note written on the back of the lease records a dispute between John Jones and Benjamin Perrott. This appears to have arisen because Jones had established a profitable overseas trade in cider and Hotwells water, buying the necessary bottles from Benjamin Perrott's nearby glass-house. This continued for some years, but during the early 1740s a rift occurred between the two men, and Jones went elsewhere for his bottles. Jones provided accommodation at his inn for boys attending a nearby school, and in 1743 Perrott alleged that the boys from the school had climbed over his garden wall and stolen apples from his trees. Jones retorted that his boarders were young gentlemen and far too respectable to steal fruit. The inconclusive dispute nevertheless provides evidence of the continued existence and operation of Benjamin Perrott's glass-house.[32]

Meanwhile Humphrey Perrott was also busily engaged in glass manufacture in his own right. By 1715 he was already taking apprentices, and in 1718 made an agreement

[29] BRO, P/St MR/E/3/a Contract Book of St Mary Redcliffe 1567–1723. Cyril Weeden & Cleo Witt, *Bristol Glass*, (1984), *passim*. I am grateful to Roger Leech for information concerning the complex tenurial history of this area. His research will be published by Bristol Record Society in a forthcoming volume.

[30] BRO, 6692.

[31] BRO, 00569/27.

[32] *Ibid.*

with John Maddox granting him a share in a newly-built glass-house, warehouses and other buildings, including a counting house in Temple or Holy Cross Street. The glass-house was said to be producing Green, Flint and Crown glass, looking-glass plate and bottle-glass.[33] In 1723 Humphrey Perrott agreed with two other Bristol glass-makers, Richard Warren, who had a glass-house in St Thomas Street, and John Baker whose glass-house was at Barton Regis, to limit production of Crown glass to their mutual advantage. They complained of the difficulties of the trade, and concluded that 'the trade hath been and is subject and liable to many disadvantages and inconveniencys for the defect and want of regulations and agreements'. Accordingly they each undertook not to make Crown glass for more than 24 weeks in each year. There is no evidence that this agreement was ever put into effect, nor is it clear why Humphrey Perrott's brother, Benjamin, or other Bristol glass-makers were not involved in it.[34]

Humphrey Perrott's main interest was in the techniques of glass-making and in the improvement of furnace efficiency. He was also concerned to overcome the wastage of glass by the frequent breakage of the clay crucibles within the furnace. After many experiments and much expense, he was granted a 14–year patent in February 1734 for an improved furnace 'for the better melting, preparing and preserving all sorts of glass wares'. His furnace used an enhanced system of draught, thereby using less coal and providing a new method 'for the more effectual preserving of all sorts of window glass when nealing [annealing] in the kiln'. Humphrey Perrott's experimental work was conducted at the new glass-house he built at Portwall Street on land rented from St Mary Redcliffe. In the renewal of his lease granted in 1724 the property is described as 'the Barn and Garden in Portwall Street late Mr John Hawkins'.[35] At the same time Humphrey Perrott appears to have continued operating the family's original glass-house at Temple Gate.

Unfortunately, Humphrey Perrott's ingenuity and inventiveness were not matched by commercial acumen, and he had borrowed heavily to finance his experiments. He had mortgaged much of his property and had failed to keep a close control over debts incurred by his customers. Among many other borrowings, he had obtained £1000 from Obadiah Arrowsmith, £200 from Elizabeth Nicklus, the wealthy widow of a master mariner, who lived in Temple Street, and £80 from Elizabeth Oakes.[36] The interest on these and other debts imposed a heavy burden on the income from his glass sales. By c1730 his financial affairs were in chaos. In addition, he had failed to keep adequate control of stock or of the supply of raw materials. This situation appears to have built up over several years, and culminated in1733, when a few months before his potentially profitable patent was granted, he was declared bankrupt.[37] Among his principal creditors was William Stretton, and it was Stretton who headed the consortium appointed by the Commissioners in Bankruptcy to run Perrott's glass-works and profit from the patent which had been granted. Thus much of the documentation relating to Perrott's affairs, the sale of glass and the details of his

[33] BRO, 12879/10.

[34] WSRO, 1178/617.

[35] BRO, P/St MR/E/3/a Contract Book St Mary Redcliffe 17 July 1724. Cyril Weeden, 'Bristol Glassmakers', *BIAS Journal*, 17, (1984), 21.

[36] BRO, AC/WO9/61. WSRO, 1178/619; 620.

[37] *London Gazette*, 10 November 1733.

glass-making operation passed into Stretton's keeping and thence into the hands of George Webb following his marriage to Stretton's daughter, Mary. Humphrey Perrott's burden of borrowings and eventual bankruptcy produced a mass of documentation, providing much information about the glass-making industry and showing the large scale of Perrott's works and the extent of his debts. A valuation of his assets included his glass-house in Portwall Lane worth £800 but mortgaged, and an old glass-house in Temple Street worth £700 but mortgaged. His dwelling house and other buildings in Temple Street were valued at £1,200 but mortgaged to Obadiah Arrowsmith for £1,000. He also possessed a new house in St Thomas Street valued at £288 but mortgaged for £200. In addition to quantities of glass-making equipment, he had Crown glass valued at £200, 60 dozen bottles at £100, 2,000 dozen quart and pint bottles at £100. Raw materials included 20 tons of sand from Newnham-on-Severn worth £6, 100 tons of higher quality sand from the Isle of Wight valued at £75, 250 tons of soap ashes at £37 10s 0d, 100 tons of kelp at £200, and 26 tons of clay valued at £50. He possessed 192 Cases of Crown glass worth £384 and Hotwells Water for filling bottles before sale valued at £12. Book debts and unpaid bills amounted to £2,000.[38] An undated inventory of workmen lists 25 employees who were paid from £3 5s 0d per week for skilled men 'at the fire' to 'improvers' at 18s 0d per week and boys for as little as 4s 0d[39] In view of his debts, it is hardly surprising that Humphrey Perrott was reduced to bankruptcy. Nevertheless, a multitude of receipted bills and account books reveal busy sales of window and bottle glass. They provide a good indication of Bristol's commercial position as the 'Metropolis' of the west of England. Glass was dispatched by sea to customers throughout the south west; to Devon, Cornwall, Dorset, Wiltshire and Hampshire, south Wales, the Midlands via the river Severn, and especially to places along the coast easily reached by sea, from Watchet and Barnstaple all round the coast to Mevagissey and Fowey. Large quantities of bottles filled with Hotwells water were supplied to ships' captains for transport to the American colonies and the West Indies.[40] Glass was also sent to many destinations by the army of carriers operating from Bristol, and there are copies of accounts to customers in Hereford, Warwick, Worcester, Pershore, Marlborough, Taunton, Oxford and many other smaller inland towns and villages. Many of these sales were of small quantities, and they included some highly-specialised products as well as bottles already filled with wine or Hotwells water. The following examples are drawn from the many surviving receipted bills:

Mr William Jolleff of Mitchell, Cornwall bought 5th October 1728

	£	s	d
36 doz quarts @ 15d	2	5	0
3 doz pottles		8	0
2 doz flatt gallons		12	0
98 penny maunds [wicker-work containers]		6	0
	3	11	0

[Note at bottom of account 'Broke and run away']

[38] WSRO, 1178/619.
[39] WSRO, 1178/620.
[40] WSRO, 1178/618.

	£	s	d
James Hilhouse of Bristol bought February and April 1729			
5 doz common quarts @ 14d		5	10
165 doz quarts @ 13d	8	18	9
One side best Crown glass	1	10	0
37 cribbs Crown glass @ 25/-	46	5	0
22 cases 2d Crown @ 45/-	49	10	0
4 case best Crown @ 60/-	12	0	0
20 cribbs green @ 12/6	13	2	6
4 boxes glass 800 foot @ 3d	10	0	0
6 boxes ditto 1200foot @ 3d	15	0	0
10 boxes	1	0	0
51 foot and ½ glass @ 4½ d		19	3¾
A box		1	4
	158	12	8¾
Thomas Cheeke of Taunton bought 17th March 1729			
Balance due	41	15	8¼
3 Cases 2nd Crown Glass	6	15	0
3 ditto Bristoll Green	4	10	0
3 doz flatt 3 pints		6	0
5 doz large pottles @ 2/6		12	6
2 large maunds		2	0
	54	1	2¼
Mr Bearcroft, Meergreen, 12th June 1729			
2 Gallons best cinemon		12	0
2 Gallons French brandy		17	0
16 quart bottles		1	8
3 grose corks		4	6
3 grose ditto		3	6
One basket & cover			9
2 Gallons Port		13	0
2 Gallons Lisbon		12	0
1 Gallon Canary		7	0
3 doz & 4 pint bottles		4	2
A hamper & cover		1	0
Glass from Mr Little		16	0
2 glass salts		1	0
6 Sullibub Glases		1	9
1 milk pott			3
6 mushroom bottles			3
1 box & cover		2	0
Kkn [i.e. Kilderkin] of Sugar	3	2	0¾
A Kkn		1	6
100 oranges		10	0

	£	s	d
A Basket & cover			6
Shallotts		1	0
	8	12	10 3/4

William Cox of Brunswick, New England 24th April 1730

Box Square 200 foot @ 3d	2	10	0
ditto @ 4d	3	6	8
2 boxes		6	0
12 doz of 8 square flatt quarts	1	2	0
12 doz of London shape quarts	1	0	0
2 doz pottles plain		5	0
1 doz Gallons ditto		6	0
	8	15	8
Allowance for bottles returned		3	2 1/2
	8	12	5 1/2[41]

After his bankruptcy, Humphrey Perrott himself was reduced to working in the glass-houses which he had owned, helping to operate the techniques which he had devised. He is said to have ended his days as Sexton of St Mary Redcliffe church. In his will of 1751 he left his possessions to his wife Elizabeth, and desired to be buried in 'the Mausoleum lately erected by me for that purpose in part of or under the parish church of St Mary Redcliffe'. He died in 1757.[42] His glass-houses continued to be operated until 1744, no doubt in order to profit from the ten-year patent which he had been granted. The glass-house at Temple Gate was offered for sale in 1744. The Portwall Lane glass-house was sold in 1758. Both continued in operation under Daniel Taylor (d.1755) and his sons Daniel and Samuel.[43]

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[41] *Ibid.*
[42] BRO, FCW/1757/6.
[43] BRO, 12529/1; 35469/1–4.

XI

The Portwall Lane Glassworks: History and Archaeology

REG JACKSON

UNTIL the first part of the 17th century glassmakers had used wood to fire the furnaces in which they melted their glass and consequently they worked in forested areas of the countryside. However, in 1615, due to the need to conserve timber for such essentials as shipbuilding, King James I forbade the use of wood for fuel in glass furnaces and glassmakers started to move from the forests to those areas where coal was readily available. The use of coal as a fuel required changes to be made to production methods and the most obvious of these was the construction of a cone over and around the furnace. The cone extracted the smoke and fumes from the working areas but was also capable of inducing the massive draught needed to heat the furnace. The first record for such a cone was that built by Philip Roche in Dublin in 1694.[1]

In 1696 John Houghton in his *Letters for the Improvement of Commerce and Trade* gave 'An Account of all the Glass Houses in England & Wales'. In and about Bristol he noted that there were nine glasshouses: five making bottles, one making bottles and window glass, and three making flint and ordinary glass. This was the largest concentration of glasshouses outside London.[2] These glassworks were situated mainly on the low-lying ground along the River Avon, particularly on the stretch between Redcliff Back and Temple Back and on Cheese Lane in SS Philip and Jacob parish. There were outliers at Limekiln Lane, Canons Marsh, Bedminster and Crews Hole.

Bristol had emerged as a major glass producing centre due to its geographical position. Not only did the city have an abundant supply of coal but the other raw ingredients for glass manufacture—sand and flint—were available locally or could be brought in by boat. Kelp, burnt and used as a flux for melting the glass, was already imported from Ireland for soap-making and the specialist fire-clay used for making the furnaces and crucibles in which the glass was melted could be shipped down the River Severn from Stourbridge. The port of Bristol also had established trade links with Europe, Ireland, North America and the West Indies which provided a substantial overseas market for the glassmakers.

Recent research by Joe Bettey in the Wiltshire Record Office has shown that the Bristol glassmaker Humphrey Perrott was using sand brought in from the Isle of Wight and Newnham-on-Severn in Gloucestershire (see this volume). This is believed to be the first time sources of sand for glassmaking have been identified.

[1] D. Crossley, *Post-medieval archaeology in Britain* (1990), Leicester: Leicester University Press, 235.

[2] R.H. Vose, *Glass* (1980), London: Collins, 198.

Despite the importance of Bristol as a centre of glass production, little has been written about the history of the industry, the development of individual glassworks or the people that owned and operated them.

Arthur Powell, the last of the Powell family of glassmakers who owned a glassworks in Cheese Lane, presented a paper on the Bristol glassmaking industry to the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society in January 1925 and this was subsequently published in their transactions of the same year.[3] The paper contained Powell's personal knowledge of the industry and the personalities involved in it and also information obtained from documentary sources including newspapers, maps and apprenticeship records. Powell's work forms an excellent introduction to the history of the industry but over the last eighty years no-one has carried on his research and our knowledge, apart from that of the Perrott and Ricketts glassmaking families, has progressed only slightly.

The Bristol Record Office holds records relating to the Ricketts family of glassmakers who were part owners of the Phoenix glassworks at Temple Gate and the Hoopers' glassworks in Cheese Lane during the late 18th and 19th centuries.[4] Cyril Weedon drew on these records for his research into the Ricketts and Perrott families and their association with the Phoenix glassworks which he published in 1982[5] and 1985,[6] as sequels to his more general research into the Bristol bottlemakers.[7] Alford also used the business records of the Ricketts family as the basis of his research into the flint and bottle glass industry in the early 19th century.[8]

In 1984 Cleo Witt, then Curator in Applied Art at the City of Bristol Museum and Art Gallery, published two books: one, *Introducing Bristol Glass*,[9] where she was the sole author and the second, *Bristol Glass*,[10] with Cyril Weeden and Arlene Palmer Schwind as co-authors. The latter contained some new research on the glass trade with America and on the so-called 'Non-such Glass Manufactory' and its proprietor Isaac Jacobs. However, the main body of the text dealing with the histories of sixteen glassworks in the city, largely draws on Powell's 1925 publication and contains little further original research.

The author's involvement in the Bristol glass industry began in 2001 when he carried out an archaeological excavation on the site of Sir Abraham Elton's glassworks in Cheese Lane.[11] Unfortunately much of Elton's 18th-century glassworks, including the glass cone, had been destroyed by later building on the site, including Sheldon, Bush and Company's lead works. However, a completely unexpected discovery was

[3] A.C. Powell, 'Glass-making in Bristol', *B.&G.A.S. Transactions*, 47, 1925, 211–57.

[4] Bristol Record Office (BRO) 12143.

[5] C. Weeden, 'The Ricketts family and the Phoenix Glasshouse, Bristol', *The Glass Circle*, 4, 1982, 84–99.

[6] C. Weeden, 'Bristol glassmakers: their role in an emergent industry' (1985), *Bristol Industrial Archaeological Society Journal* 17, 15–29.

[7] C. Weeden, 'The Bristol bottlemakers, the rise and decline of an industry', *Chemistry and Industry*, 3 June 1978, 378–381.

[8] B.W.E. Alford, 'The flint and bottle glass industry in the early 19th century: a case study of a Bristol firm, *Business History*, 10, 1968, 12–21.

[9] C. Witt, *Introducing Bristol Glass* (1984), Bristol: Redcliffe Press Ltd.

[10] C. Witt, C. Weeden & A.P. Schwind, *Bristol Glass* (1984), Bristol: Redcliffe Press Ltd.

[11] R. Jackson, 'Excavations on the site of Sir Abraham Elton's glassworks, Cheese Lane, Bristol', *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, 39/1, 2005, 92–132.

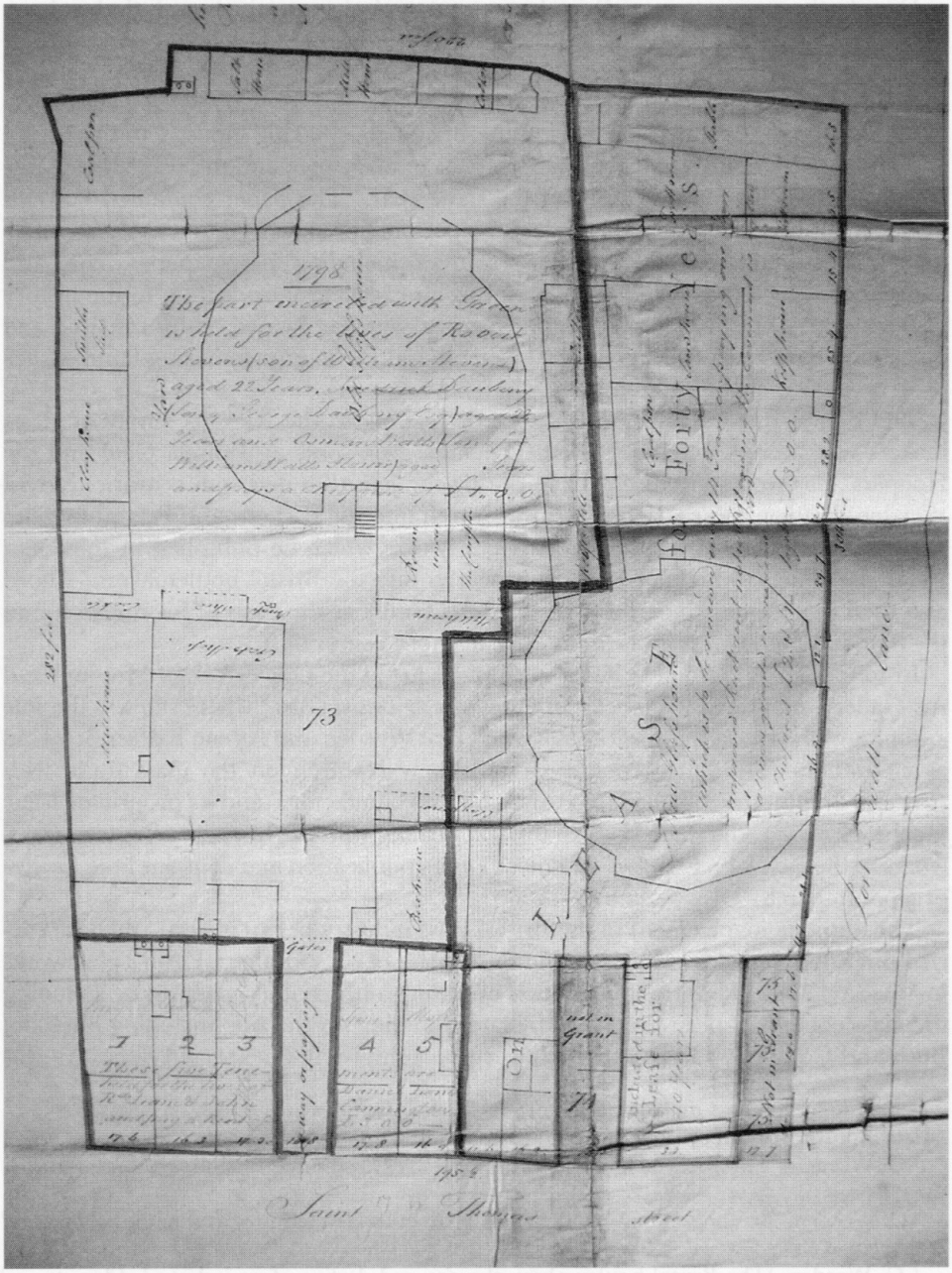


Fig. 1. 1797 plan of the glassworks showing the Old (1768) and New (post-1785) cones. Their irregular shape is due to the plan showing the outline of buildings erected against the outside of the cones rather than the cones themselves. The uses of some of the workshops are given.

a fragment of a glass cone and associated buildings dating to the late 17th century. The archaeological work was accompanied by an intensive search of the available contemporary records and while a clearer history emerged of Elton's 18th-century glassworks the presence of the earlier glassworks does not seem to have been recorded.

The possibility for further archaeological work on Bristol's glass industry occurred in 2006 when redevelopment of the site of the 18th-century Portwall Lane glassworks began. For a property developer the possibility of having archaeology on their site of such importance that it requires total preservation has major financial implications resulting from delays to their construction programme and the restrictions placed on the design of their new building. This was the situation that faced Deeley Freed Estates Limited on their site at Portwall Lane where the glassworks were listed in English Heritage's Monuments Protection Programme as being of 'national importance'.[12]

Fortunately a limited amount of documentary research together with trial excavations carried out well in advance of the purchase of the land provided advance warning to the developers of the serious archaeological implications associated with the site. A detailed late 18th-century plan[13] showed that the glassworks occupied over two-thirds, or about 3,500 square metres, of the development area and trial trenching confirmed the survival of the substantial foundations of two glass cones and other glassworks' buildings.[14]

The Portwall Lane glassworks had been almost overlooked in the published histories of the Bristol glassmaking industry. In his 1925 paper Powell correctly identified the Portwall Lane glassworks as that shown in the St Mary Redcliffe records as being on the corner of Portwall Lane and St Thomas Street but incorrectly stated that it was owned by Humphrey Perrott.[15] In fact, Perrott's glassworks were further to the east, close to the junction of Temple Street and Portwall Lane.

In the 1984 book by Witt, Weeden and Schwind the Portwall Lane glassworks was not shown on their plan of the known glassworks in Bristol.[16] This is because they assumed that the owners of the Portwall Lane glassworks had simply carried on production at the nearby St Thomas Street glassworks,[17] although this had gone out of business in 1766, and erroneously assumed that the glass cone there had been rebuilt after it was blown down in 1774.

A more accurate history of the Portwall Lane glassworks is now emerging. The following brief details are based on preliminary research carried out by the author and it is clear that much further work is required.

The Warren family had owned a glassworks on the west side of St Thomas Street from at least 1712 and the Land Tax returns for St Mary Redcliffe parish show that they also had the use of a 'millhouse' (presumably for grinding kelp) on Redcliff

[12] D. Crossley, *Monuments Protection Programme: the glass industry*, 'Step 1 Report' (1993) and 'Introduction to Step 3 site assessments' (1996), English Heritage.

[13] BRO P/StMR/E/1/a.

[14] Bristol and Region Archaeological Services, *Archaeological evaluation of land at Dick Lovett site, Portwall Lane, Bristol* (2002), unpublished client report 1006/2002.

[15] A.C. Powell, *op.cit.*, 229.

[16] C. Witt, C. Weeden & A.P. Schwind, *op.cit.*, plate 7.

[17] *Ibid.*, 37.

Back.[18] Thomas Warren died in 1767 and in his will made in 1754 he referred to his 'considerable interest in a glasswork or works now carried on by and in the names of my two brothers Richard and John Warren and myself in partnership'.[19] The Land Tax returns for March to September 1767 show Warrens' glassworks and mill-house in the possession of 'Sir Rd. Mill & Co.', who were perhaps acting for the Warren family until Thomas Warren's estate had been settled. After September 1767 the glassworks is shown as being owned by 'Messrs. Warren & Co.' and was described as the 'Old Glass house, void'. It is clear that this glasshouse was no longer in production after 1767 and in a lease dated 15 June 1775 it was described as a 'ruinous and decayed glasshouse formerly erected by Richard Warren the elder deceased late in the occupation of Messrs. Warrens, Cannington & Co.'.[20] In 1999 and 2000 this glassworks was partly excavated and the cone preserved below the courtyard of a new development.[21]

Warren's glassworks on the west side of St Thomas Street was not used after 1767 as on 23 January 1768 John and Thomas Warren, Richard Cannington, Richard Reynolds and William Cowles had 'entered into partnership in the Crown Glass Trade',[22] and had started a new glassworks on the east side of St Thomas Street close to its junction with Portwall Lane. This is the Portwall Lane glassworks excavated in 2006 and the first cone, on the east side of the excavated area and later partly covered by Canynges Street, was presumably built in 1768.

The Warrens were probably the skilled glassmakers who managed the works, with Cannington, Reynolds and Cowles providing the financial backing, as these three men also had interests in glassworks in Temple Street and St Philips.[23]

The Warren family had an interest in property to the east of St Thomas Street since 1745 when Thomas Warren started paying rent to St Mary Redcliffe church on a barn and garden previously occupied by Humphrey Perrott.[24] The previous occupier, Humphrey Perrott, was presumably the same man who, from at least 1715, had owned the glassworks further to the east between Portwall Lane and Temple Street.[25]

There is also a reference in a 1754 lease of St Mary Redcliffe church lands to 'that piece or parcel of ground containing by estimation one acre … commonly called or known by the name Avering Hays heretofore in the holding or occupation of … Abraham Saunders since that of the said Humphrey Perrott and now of the said— Warren together with the glasshouse and all other buildings thereon erected …'.[26] Subsequent leases for Avering Hays, which was on the east side of St Thomas Street, also refer to a glasshouse.[27] However, no other references to a glasshouse on this land at such an early date have yet been found. It does not appear in the Land Tax returns

[18] BRO Land Tax returns, St Mary Redcliffe parish.

[19] The National Archives, PRO Prob. 11/927, 25 May 1754.

[20] BRO P/StMR/D/4/29.

[21] R. Jackson, 'Archaeological excavations at nos. 30–38 St Thomas Street and no. 60 Redcliff Street, Bristol, 2000', *Bristol & Avon Archaeology*, 19, 2004, 1–64.

[22] *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal*, 23 January 1768.

[23] A.C. Powell, *op.cit.*, 222 & 248.

[24] BRO P/StMR/ChW/1(g).

[25] A.C. Powell, *op.cit.*, 229.

[26] BRO P/StMR/D/1/15a-b.

[27] BRO P/StMR/D/4/43.

Fig. 2. Aerial photograph of the excavation showing the post-1785 cone in the foreground, the 1768 cone to the right, the foundations of workshops between and the medieval buildings fronting St Thomas Street on the left.

or any of the other surviving rate books for St Mary Redcliffe parish, Warren's property always being described variously as a barn, stables, garden or yard. Also, the archaeological excavation failed to find any evidence for an earlier glass cone on the site. It is just possible that the 'Old Cone' shown on a plan of 1797[28] could pre-date the establishment of the firm of Warrens, Cannington and Company in 1768, but this may only be clarified by further research.

The 1768 advertisement reporting the establishment of the Warren, Cannington, Reynolds and Cowles partnership mentions that they were trading in 'crown glass'.[29] Window glass was made by using two techniques: broad glass or crown glass. Broad

[28] BRO P/StMR/E/1/a.

[29] *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal*, 23 January 1768.

glass was made by inflating and sometimes elongating the 'bubble' of molten glass formed on the end of the blowing iron to produce a large cylinder. The ends were removed and the cylinder cut to form a rectangle. This rectangle had to be flattened on a large stone and so one side of broad glass tends to be rather dull. Crown glass was made by first inflating and opening the bubble of molten glass and then heating and spinning the glass until it formed a circular disc. Crown glass had a better finish than broad glass but had a thicker centre (the 'bull's eye') and could only be cut into small panes.[30] The archaeological excavation seems to have confirmed the production of window glass at the Portwall Lane glassworks as 'bull's eyes' and crushed window glass were found in deposits associated with the glass cones. The Presentment Books which record the export of goods through the port of Bristol show that the firm variously described as Warrens, Warrens Cannington and Company and Richard Cannington and Company were exporting 'sides' and boxes of window glass to Limerick, Galway, Cork, Virginia, New York, South Carolina and Quebec during 1773.[31]

In 1775 ownership of the glassworks passed to Robert Vigor, William Stevens and someone called Hill, the firm trading as Vigor, Stevens and Hill.[32] These three men also owned the Redcliff Back glassworks. *Mathew's Bristol Directory* for 1794 contains 'The complete Bristol Guide' which recommended that people should visit 'Vigor and Co's glasshouse in St Thomas-street' where 'window glass is made every Monday and Saturday in the morning' and also their glasshouse in Redcliff Back where 'flint or white glass is worked every Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday'. The use of flint glass at the Redcliff Back glassworks suggests that it was producing bottles.

Robert Vigor died in 1782[33] and the Land Tax returns show that the firm then traded as William Stevens and Company until 1792 when the name changed to Stevens, Cave and Company.

At some stage the Portwall Lane glassworks was expanded by acquiring land adjoining Portwall Lane and constructing there the new cone shown on a plan of 1797.[34] However, this expansion could not have occurred before December 1785 as a plan attached to a lease of that date shows this land as still occupied by Stocks Timber Yard and the Bull public house.[35]

Towards the end of the 18th century the owners of the Portwall Lane and Redcliff Back glassworks seem to have encountered financial problems. Perhaps the construction of the new cone in a falling market, caused by England's war with France which had disrupted overseas trade, had not been a wise decision. The results of the archaeological excavation suggest that the new cone had seen little use.

Felix Farley's Bristol Journal of 24 August 1793 recorded 'that the co-partnership in the glass manufactory, lately carried on in St Thomas Street and Redcliff Backs ... under the firm of Stevens, Randolph and Company and afterwards of Stevens, Cave and Company ... is now dissolved ... And notice is hereby given also, that the same

[30] D. Dungworth, *Assessing evidence for post-medieval glassworking* (2005), Privately published guide for archaeologists.

[31] Bristol Reference Library, Presentment Book 1773.

[32] BRO P/StMR/ChW/1(g).

[33] C. Witt, C. Weeden & A.P. Schwind, *op.cit.*, 35.

[34] BRO P/StMR/E/1/a.

[35] BRO P/StMR/D/4/30.

business will be continued by a firm, which will be announced to the public'. Stevens and Company seem to have tried to carry on the business at their Redcliff Back premises but the Land Tax returns show that from at least 1795 the glassworks in Portwall Lane were only being used as a glass warehouse and that by 1796 most of the Portwall Lane glassworks had been sub-let and could no longer have been producing glass.

Bonner and Middleton's Bristol Journal of 20 October 1798 records the bankruptcy of the glass manufacturer William Stevens and that his Portwall Lane glassworks and other properties were to be sold by auction. The Portwall Lane glassworks was described as 'All that capital crown and flint glass manufactory ... together with the stock of utensils and materials (the frit accepted). Consisting of pots, bricks, kelp, ironwork, mills and a great variety of other articles. Also the counting house furniture consisting of a desk, bookcase, etc now on the premises, which premises were lately worked by Messrs Stevens, Cave & Company'. The glassworks were purchased by a firm of worsted manufacturers, Amatt, Harris and Company.

Although glass production was a major industry in late 17th- and 18th-century Bristol part of only one glass cone, in Prewett Street, survives. The sites of most of the glassworks have been destroyed by later buildings and this situation is reflected in other glass producing areas nationwide. The few previous excavations of glassworks have concentrated on the cones themselves so the Portwall Lane site was perhaps a unique survival in that the majority of the glassworks, including the two cones, workshops, storerooms and yards, lay within the development area and were available for excavation.

The importance of the Portwall Lane glassworks was such that the Bristol City Archaeologist, Bob Jones, decided that its remains should be preserved *in situ* below the new development, the ground floor of the new building being raised to clear the tops of the foundations of the glassworks and the pile foundations being designed to avoid or bridge the structures. As it was necessary to preserve the glassworks, excavation was restricted to defining the extent, and the state of survival, of the glass cones and other buildings, although more excavation was required within the cones in order to determine how they operated and how their complex internal structures could best be preserved.

Only half of the 1768 cone lay within the site, the remainder lying below Canynges Street which was built over the eastern portion of the glassworks in the 19th century. The cone was 21 metres in diameter which suggests the cone was at least 30 metres high. Sufficient of the furnaces, flues and sieges survived to enable specialists in glass technology to determine how they operated. It is significant that there had been a radical change in the technology used between the 1768 cone and the later, post-1785 cone, which was fully uncovered on the southern part of the site close to Portwall Lane and was found to be 19 metres in diameter.

Surrounding the cones were the foundations and floors of the other buildings essential for the operation of the glassworks. Their use could be identified from the late 18th-century plan as storerooms for the sand, frit, coal, clay and kelp used in glass production and smiths, box and crate makers workshops, together with various mills including a kelp mill, and a counting house where the financial records of the firm would have been prepared and wages paid.

Large quantities of glass waste were recovered from all parts of the site and have been sent to the Dr Caroline Jackson, a specialist in glass technology at the University of Sheffield, for identification and analysis.

On the western part of the site, outside the glassworks complex, a row of late medieval buildings was excavated along St Thomas Street. In places the walls of these buildings were found to be standing to a height of nearly two metres and included doorways and a window with freestone mouldings, suggesting relatively high status properties. Behind these were gardens, yards and rubbish pits which produced large quantities of pottery and other finds.

It might be thought that in the 18th century, when written records are plentiful, the technology of glassworks would be well known. However, in a period of rapid change in production methods structures were modified by experience, in ways which were not recorded, and these changes in technology can only be ascertained by archaeological excavation. The work at the Portwall Lane glassworks has shown that archaeology and historical research must be used together to provide a true picture of glass production.

A detailed report on the archaeological excavations, which will include a history of the glassworks obtained from documentary sources and specialist reports on the finds, is being prepared for publication.

XII

*Cheltenham's Little Imitators—the mineral springs and spa-lets of Gloucestershire**

DAVID ALDRED

No Naiad will be worshipped, till temples are likewise erected to pleasure, convenience and dissipation.[1]

WATER is essential for life. Its mystical healing and life-giving properties have been worshipped and revered at holy wells and springs from before written records began. The Celtic stone heads in Gloucester Museum representing water sacrifices provide evidence for this. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries such attitudes towards water began to change. It still held its healing and life-giving powers, but the beginnings of modern science substituted science for religion. H_2O was good to drink and bathe in because of its chemical properties. The spa movement was born.

Cheltenham's pre-eminence as a spa town of national fame is well-known, but Gloucestershire has many mineral springs, some of which were developed into spas in imitation of Cheltenham. As Cheltenham's rise in the eighteenth century mirrored the rise of other major spas as Tunbridge Wells and Bath, so these local spa-lets attempted to follow Cheltenham's lead. But Fosbrooke warned in his account of Walton Spa, near Tewkesbury, that they would find it very difficult to succeed in their aim to create a rival to Cheltenham itself. What follows is the story of the rise and fall of Cheltenham's little imitators.

Harrogate might be considered the first 'modern' spa when its special waters were discovered in 1571, but its northern location hindered progress and before long it was surpassed by Epsom (1603), Tunbridge Wells (1606) and Bath (1616), where the long tradition of hot baths dating back at least to the Roman Aquae Sulis, was successfully modernised into the spa. Royal patronage became essential to raise the profile of these early spas. The citizens of Bath raised £1000 to entertain Anne of Denmark, wife of James I, when she visited hoping to cure her dropsy (the contemporary term for water retention). This ensured a social, if not medical, success and helped set the tone that the spa was socially, as well as medically, the place to visit.[2] Yet if such patronage was essential, there was a limit to how many visits a royal family could make. In 1630 Queen Henrietta Maria, wife of Charles I, patronised Tunbridge Wells to recover from the birth of the future James II, having refused to visit Bath, declaring it was too rough![3] The popularity of the spas increased again following the

* The area covered is the pre-1974 county.

[1] T.D.Fosbrooke, *Abstracts of Records and Manuscripts Respecting the County of Gloucester, Formed into a History*.... ii (Gloucester 1807) p.274.

[2] G.Martin in the introduction to A.B.Granville, *The Spas of England and Principal Sea-Bathing Places: the Midlands and South* (Somerset 1971 reprint of 1841) p.viii.

[3] K.Denbigh, *A Hundred British Spas* (London, 1981) p.4.

restoration of the monarchy in 1666 and when Queen Anne made a third visit to Bath in 1703 for treatment for her gout and dropsy, the royal doctor recommended drinking the water as well as bathing. Subsequently Bath's first pump room was opened in 1706 and its first Assembly Room in 1708. Soon a spa culture emerged as visitors needed to occupy the rest of the day between drinking the waters. Public breakfasts, church services, promenading walks, balls, card parties, theatre visits, libraries were all accepted methods of passing the time for the affluent visitor suffering real or imagined ill-health. Lodgings for visitors and housing for new inhabitants were developed as speculators realised there was money to be made by attracting the rich and titled, whose presence, in turn, raised the tone of the town. When Beau Nash regularised life at the spa after his arrival in 1705, Bath became the model for all would-be spas, including Cheltenham itself.[4]

Cheltenham was not the first spa in Gloucestershire; Hotwells in Clifton took that prize. In 1630 John Bradshaw obtained a licence from the crown to 'take in' the Hotwell water to use it for baths and also make it available for drinking. The visit of Queen Catherine of Braganza in 1677 gave it the necessary royal approval and it flourished for about a century and a half before the purer air of Clifton Downs attracted the health-seeking away from the riverside location on the Avon.[5] Cheltenham's development as a spa was almost a century behind the Hotwells, but it was to surpass the pioneer and emerge as one of the most popular spas in England. It grew because landowners, medical men and speculators realised that there was money to be made from the actual or perceived illnesses of the rich and titled.[6] So what were the spa-lets in the county actually trying to imitate?

The early history of the spa is well-known.[7] According to legend in 1716 pigeons were first noticed pecking at salt deposits. Two years later the owner of the land, William Mason, enclosed the spring, built a small shelter and charged people to come in. Twenty years later his son-in-law Henry Skillicorne sunk a well, protected it with a canopy, built an assembly room and set out an avenue of elm trees to create a Well Walk from the town to the spa, on the site of Cheltenham Ladies' College. This all cost Skillicorne £56, to which he contributed £32 with the remaining £24 coming from subscribers, anxious, no doubt, to enjoy the new attractions. By 1742 the number of subscribers had risen to 667, each paying a shilling. Further developments took place, but it was the well-publicised visit of George III in 1788 which gave Cheltenham the necessary royal patronage to succeed. The original well was copied many times and when Pittville Pump Room was opened in 1830, another twelve spas had already been opened around the town.[8] Being part of Cheltenham they are not

[4] Ibid. pp.6–8.

[5] For a comparison between Clifton and Cheltenham, see B.Little, The Gloucestershire Spas: an eighteenth-century parallel, P.McGrath and J.Cannon (eds.) *Essays in Bristol and Gloucestershire History* (Bristol 1976) Chapter VIII.

[6] P.Hembry, *The English Spa 1560–1815: a social history* (London 1990) p.159.

Hembry identified 48 provincial minor spas of which 24 were founded by the gentry or nobility and 21 by physicians. There was nothing unusual about the founders of Cheltenham's little imitators. Ibid. p.167.

[7] For a succinct account, see S.Blake and R.Beacham, *The Book of Cheltenham* (Buckingham 1982) Chapters 3 and 4.

[8] For a list of known spas in Cheltenham, see S.Blake and O.Bradbury, Cheltenham's Mineral Wells: a Checklist, *Cheltenham Local History Society Journal* 13 (1997) pp.40–45.

considered here because they all hoped to succeed by competing for their clients mostly already used to the spa's way of life and its attractions of promenades, assembly rooms, libraries and the like; they did not attempt to start from scratch like the spa-lets under study here. There was no shortage of the 'beau monde' during the May to October season and the town was well-named 'the merriest sick resort on earth'.[9] As Cheltenham developed, landowners, doctors and speculators (not mutually exclusive) took up the idea of the spa and began to exploit some of the other mineral springs already known about in different parts of the county. What was written about them at the time?

First, a word of caution. So much of the contemporary literature was publicity propaganda, portraying hopes as facts. When the fourth Lord Craven wanted publicity for a possible spa on his land at Hyde Farm in Prestbury parish, he employed Diederick Linden, a German doctor who was probably the most celebrated pamphleteer of spas of the day.[10] Dr Linden's treatise convincingly describes hot and cold baths and lodging houses, but there is no clear evidence that they were ever built.[11] Samuel Rudder indicated that the scheme failed, but the Victoria County History in 1968 repeated the story of their existence.[12] Secondly, the plethora of contemporary guidebooks brought much plagiarism and therefore the presentation of out-dated descriptions. Ruff's description of seven mineral springs around Cheltenham written in 1806 is a largely verbatim copy, with little acknowledgement, of Thomas Jameson's treatise on the Cheltenham waters of three years earlier.[13] A related problem is found in trade directories. The description of the spring at Walton House, near Tewkesbury, remained unchanged in Kelly's directory for the county from at least 1863 until 1939![14] Nevertheless, used with caution, such sources become invaluable evidence for unfolding the story of the mineral springs and spa-lets of Gloucestershire.

The first requisite for a spa was, of course, a mineral spring possessing the necessary qualities: saline, sulphur and/or iron (usually called chalybeate). Gloucestershire is well-placed for such springs as they rise from the clays and limestones of the Jurassic system of the underlying geology. In his *Stranger's Guide to Cheltenham* Henry Davies quotes a local doctor on the qualities of each.[15] Found, no doubt, by trial and error some effects have a medical basis; others none. Saline springs were by far the most numerous and were thought to be particularly effective in all disorders of the liver, stomach and bowels, in dyspeptic and bilious disorders, female complaints, gout and rheumatism. Their main effect was as a laxative and the nature of the mineral meant if the cure was not complete after a visit to the spa, then the salts could be taken home

[9] G.Hart, *A History of Cheltenham* (Leicester 1965) Chapter 15.

[10] Hembry, *The English Spa,* p.168.

[11] D.W.Linden, *An Experimental Dissertation on the Nature, Content and Virtues of the Hyde Saline Water,* etc, (London 1751). The fact that he refers to 'many extraordinary Cures have been performed' rather than naming actual conditions, as was usual in such publicity to gain it credibility, also suggests these were aspirations rather than reality.

[12] S.Rudder, *A New History of Gloucestershire* (Gloucester 1779) p.604; *V.C.H. Glos.* viii (London 1968) p.70.

[13] *Ruff's Beauties of Cheltenham* (Cheltenham 1806, reprint 1981) n.p.; T. Jameson, *A Treatise on Cheltenham Waters and Bilious Diseases* (Cheltenham 1803) pp. 47–51.

[14] *Post Office Directory for Gloucestershire* (1863) p.368; cf *Kelly's Directory for Gloucestershire* (1939) p.336.

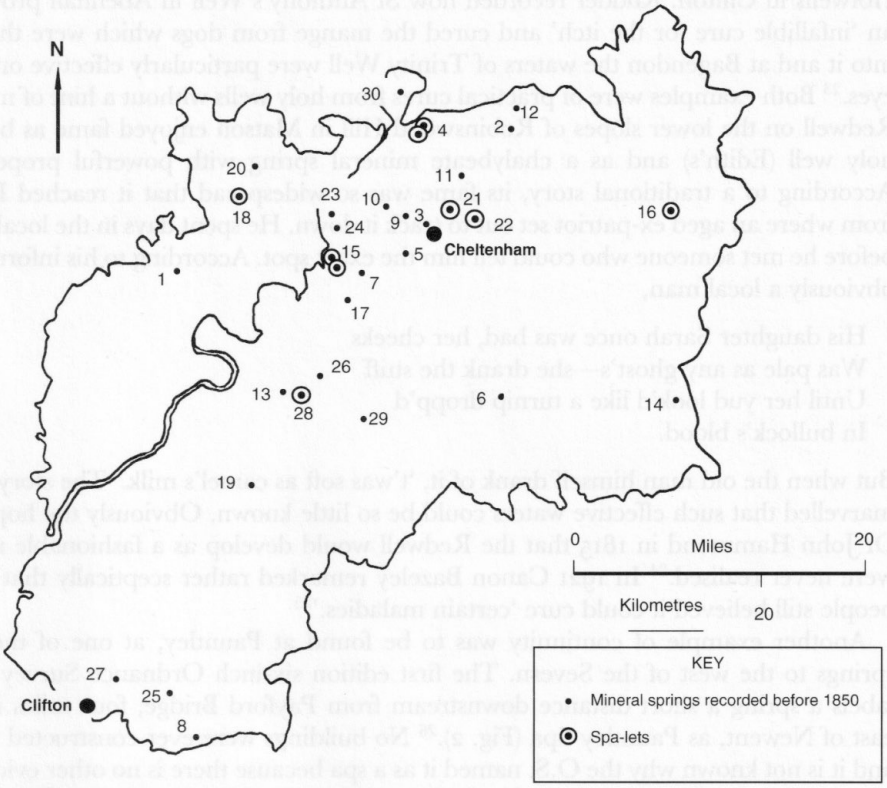
[15] H.Davies, *A Stranger's Guide to Cheltenham,* 4th edition (Cheltenham 1843) pp.38–44.

and the treatment continued. The bottling of the water and the distillation of the salts for such purposes comprised a lucrative continuing income for the spas' exploiters. Sulphurous waters were considered particularly effective in diseases of the skin, ulcers, rheumatism, gout, haemorrhoids, worms and most female complaints. It was carefully noted that these did not act on the bowels! Chalybeate waters were regarded as a tonic in cases of debility, in female complaints, scrofula and all other diseases which left the patient feeling weak. They were considered best for patients with cold and phlegmatic habits, but dangerous to people of an active disposition, where they 'may produce the very worst effects' (not defined!). For people in the eighteenth century there appeared nothing which the spa waters could not cure. The simple act of drinking vast quantities would have had a beneficial effect on the patients with their high carbohydrate, high protein unbalanced diet. It was in the hope of making money, as well as effecting relief from illnesses, that certain individuals, named and unnamed, exploited local springs and wells in imitation of Cheltenham. Where were such health-giving waters to be found?

It is probably impossible to compile a list of all the mineral springs known in the county before the mid-nineteenth century. When Robert Atkyns published his volume on the past and present state of Gloucestershire in 1712, the spa movement lay in its infancy and this is reflected in his volume. Only in Clifton, where the Hotwells were already famous 'for curing divers Distempers (illnesses), especially Diabetes' did he mention a spa, but he also acknowledged that the nearby Jacob's Well provided 'a cold water cure', in an interesting mix of traditional and contemporary attitudes to the health-giving properties of water.[16] He also noted 'a Spring of purging Quality' at Eastleach Turville and a spring of 'very strong Chalybeate Water, which is in repute for curing Distempers' on Robinswood Hill, i.e. the Redwell in Matson (so-called because of the iron content in the water).[17] A similar spring flowed in Standish Park; mineral water had been found at North Nibley and at Siston he recorded an older tradition of a well being dedicated to St. Bridget.[18]

By the time Samuel Rudder published his volume on the county in 1779, the spa movement was gathering pace. From Twyning in the north to Stapleton in the south, Rudder identified a further sixteen springs of mineral water, and the enlarged entries for Cheltenham and Clifton are further evidence of the change.[19] Four more springs were recorded by Jameson in his treatise of 1803 on Cheltenham's waters.[20] Four of the spa-lets discussed below do not feature on any of these lists: Gloucester, Lower Swell, Newent and Stonehouse, plus the latecomer hydro spa in Prestbury. In the early twentieth century another twenty-four mineral springs were noted, but these have not been included as there is no evidence they were known by the mid-nineteenth century.[21] This gives a total of thirty mineral springs outside Cheltenham and

[16] R.Atkyns, *The Ancient and Present State of Gloucestershire* (London 1712) p.360.
[17] Ibid. p.425 and p.552 resp.
[18] Ibid. p.680, p.580 and p.655 resp.
[19] S.Rudder, *Glos.* passim.
[20] Jameson, *Cheltenham Waters*, pp.47–51 passim.
[21] L.Richardson, *Wells and Springs of Gloucestershire* (HMSO 1930) p.14; G.Emrey, Mineral Waters in and around Gloucester, *Proceedings of the Cotteswold Naturalists' Field Club*, xxi (1) (1918) pp.29–34.



Key to mineral springs and spa-lets numbered on map

1. Abenhall
2. Alderton (Naunton Farm)
3. Arle
4. Ashchurch (Walton)
5. Badgeworth
6. Bagendon
7. Barnwood
8 Bitton
9. Boddington (Hayden)
10. Boddington (Barrow)
11. Cleeve
12. Dumbleton
13. Eastington (Alkerton)
14. Eastleach Turville
15. Gloucester
16. Lower Swell
17. Matson
18. Newent
19. North Nibley
20. Pauntley
21. Prestbury (The Hyde)
22. Prestbury (Hydro)
23. Sandhurst
24. Sandhurst (Wallsworth)
25. Siston
26. Standish
27. Stapleton
28. Stonehouse (Oldends)
29. Stroud
30. Twyning

Fig. 1. Map to show the known mineral springs and spas by the mid-nineteenth century.

Clifton, each of which had the potential to become a spa. Their location in the pre-1974 county is shown in Figure 1.

When R.C.S.Walters wrote his book on the ancient and holy wells and springs in the county in 1928, he appeared confident there had been a break between healing from traditional holy wells and the use of spa waters; with no continuity of use.[22] However, the situation was rather more complex. Atkyns linked St Jacob's Well to the

[22] R.C.S.Walters, *The Ancient Wells, Springs and Holy Wells of Gloucestershire* (Gloucester 1928) p.173.

Hotwells in Clifton. Rudder recorded how St Anthony's Well in Abenhall provided an 'infallible cure for the itch' and cured the mange from dogs which were thrown into it and at Bagendon the waters of Trinity Well were particularly effective on sore eyes.[23] Both examples were of practical cures from holy wells without a hint of magic. Redwell on the lower slopes of Robinswood Hill in Matson enjoyed fame as both a holy well (Edith's) and as a chalybeate mineral spring with powerful properties. According to a traditional story, its fame was so widespread that it reached India, from where an aged ex-patriot set out to track it down. He spent days in the local area before he met someone who could tell him the exact spot. According to his informant, obviously a local man,

> His daughter Sarah once was bad, her cheeks
> Was pale as any ghost's—she drank the stuff
> Until her yud look'd like a turnip dropp'd
> In bullock's blood.

But when the old man himself drank of it, 't'was soft as camel's milk.' The storyteller marvelled that such effective waters could be so little known. Obviously the hopes of Dr John Hammond in 1815 that the Redwell would develop as a fashionable resort were never realised.[24] In 1921 Canon Bazeley remarked rather sceptically that local people still believed it could cure 'certain maladies.'[25]

Another example of continuity was to be found at Pauntley, at one of the few springs to the west of the Severn. The first edition six-inch Ordnance Survey map labels a spring a short distance downstream from Payford Bridge, four miles north east of Newent, as Pauntley Spa (Fig. 2).[26] No buildings were ever constructed there and it is not known why the O.S. named it as a spa because there is no other evidence that it was. On the second edition of the map, it is shown as disused.[27] Rudder described the water as having 'a brackish taste and a very strong purging quality' and Walters himself commented upon its strong smell of rotten eggs.[28] From an early twentieth-century account, it is clear that the tradition surrounding the spring was an old one. In 1893 a local informant recounted the tradition that on 30 April each year countless numbers of people, some from as far as Ledbury, assembled around the spring to be ready to drink the water on May Day; May being the month traditionally associated with well cures. The water had to be warmed by lighting fires and then 'having drunk a number of horns full of it, they used to run round a field in the shape of a figure of eight until the desired result was obtained.' Unfortunately the informant did not elaborate on the 'desired result'! But he did acknowledge that the tradition was dying out, stating the farmer objected to the destruction of his hedges to provide

[23] Rudder, *Glos.* p.205 and p.259 resp.

[24] The story is recounted by H.Y.Y.Taylor in *Saint Harold the martyr; Redwell at Matson, or Edith's spring; two local legends* (Gloucester 1866) Glos.R.O. R201.1GS.

For the geology of Robinswood Hill, see W.Dreghorn, *Geology Explained in the Severn Vale and Cotswolds* (Newton Abbot 1967) Chapter 9.

[25] Canon W.Bazeley, *Proc.C.N.F.C.* xxi (1) (1921) p.22.

[26] Glos. 17NE 1st edition 1889.

[27] Glos. 17NE 2nd edition 1902.

[28] Rudder, *Glos.* p.597.

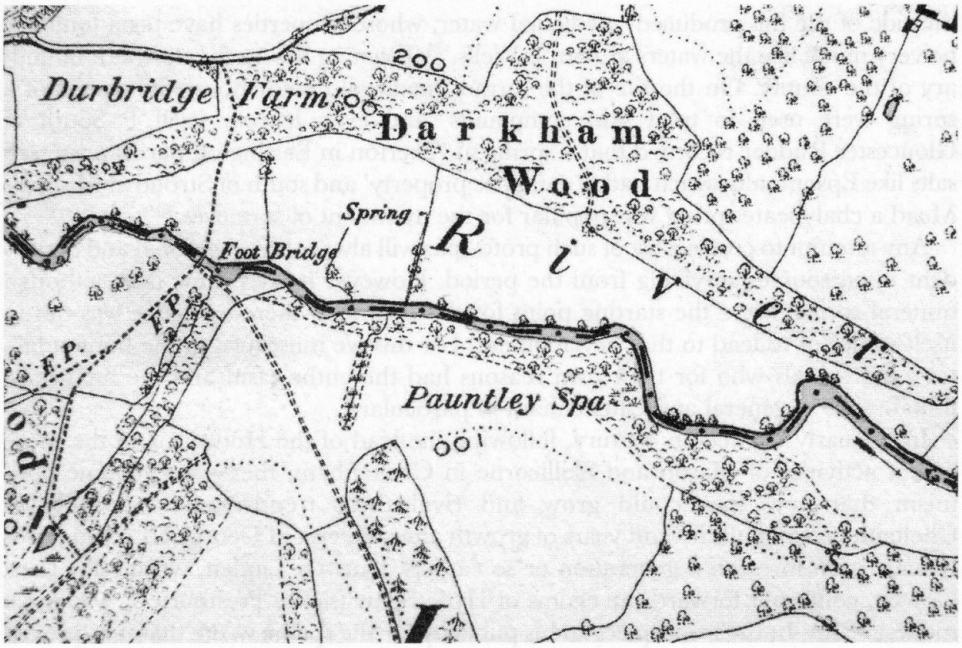


Fig. 2. The site of Pauntley Spa from the first edition 6 inch Ordnance Survey map

wood for the fires. It was also likely to have been the last echo from an earlier age fading in the face of modernity.[29]

Nine of the remaining mineral springs were at some time used as spa waters without developing even into a spa-let. One was discovered at Barnwood in 1802 after gunpowder had been used to blast away the lias clay to lay the foundations for Barnwood House: 'a pump was placed on it and those who have drunk of it have found a pint or two to prove cathartic.'[30] At Wallsworth House to the north of the city local people drank from a saline spring discovered c.1760. When Thomas Jameson visited it in 1803 he reported that it had so little taste that proposals to manufacture salt from it had to be abandoned.[31] There were mineral springs at Barrow and Hayden in Boddington parish between Gloucester and Cheltenham. Rudder described them as 'brackish and disagreeable to the taste, which have often been used with a medicinal view by the country people.'[32] Moving further north, at Naunton Farm in Alderton parish, the spring discovered in 1700 contained both sulphur and salt and a quart proved purgative, but in summer the salt content was too high for the water to be used on the farm.[33] There is no evidence that advantage was taken of the high salt content to sell it commercially in bottles. At nearby Dumbleton a spring on

[29] C.Duncan and L.Richardson, The Mineral Springs of Newent and Pauntley, Gloucestershire, *Proc.C.N.F.C*, xxi (2) (1922) p.157; Walters, *The Ancient Wells*, p.173.

[30] Jameson, *Cheltenham Waters*, p.49. For the subsequent development of the site, see H. and R. Conway-Jones, Barnwood House and Grounds, *Gloucestershire History*, 18, (2004) pp.32–35.

[31] Jameson, *Cheltenham Waters*, p.51.

[32] Rudder, *Glos.* p.300.

[33] Jameson, *Cheltenham Waters*, p.50.

the side of the hill produced 'medicinal water, whose properties have been found to be very much like the waters at Astrop Wells.'[34] Twyning lies on the northern boundary of the county. On the site of the former medieval manor house the waters of a spring were used to treat skin complaints 'and even leprosy itself.'[35] South of Gloucester Rudder recorded that a spring at Alkerton in Eastington parish possessed salts like Epsom salts which had 'a cathartic property' and south of Stroud at Mansel's Mead a chalybeate spring was popular for the treatment of sore eyes.[36]

Any attempt to create a list of such proto-spas will always be provisional and dependent upon sources surviving from the period. However it does show that, although mineral springs were the starting point for development, there existence was not in itself sufficient to lead to that development. For this we must turn to the human factor—individuals who for their own reasons had the enthusiasm and the finance to imitate spas in general and Cheltenham in particular.

In the early eighteenth century, following the lead of the Hotwells and the more recent activities of Mason and Skillicorne in Cheltenham, there was genuine optimism that new spas could grow and rival these trendsetters, especially as Cheltenham's popularity and years of growth after the visit of George III could hardly have been foreseen a generation or so earlier. Thus Dr Linden, writing for Lord Craven, could put forward the claims of Hyde Spaw (sic) in Prestbury. It was not a modest claim. In the frontispiece to his publicity for the spa he wrote that it is 'proved from *Facts*, that these Waters are of the same Nature, and considerably richer in Salts than those of *Cheltenham*.'[37] The pamphlet was part of a plan to create a spa to rival Cheltenham; it was the first little imitator. But at this stage in Cheltenham's development there must have been a genuine belief that it could be surpassed. Suffering from poor communications and a lack of lodging for visitors (a survey of 1756 counted only sixty seven visitor beds in the town) a ready-built competitor with hot and cold baths (in Cheltenham bathing was never as important as drinking the waters) and lodgings might well have usurped its pre-eminent position.[38] As noted above, whether the hot and cold baths and lodgings described in the pamphlet were ever built is still not absolutely clear. Lord Craven suffered from ill-health, which was another reason for promoting the spa. When he died in 1764, the impetus must have lessened, even if there had been development.[39] Less than thirty years after the publication of the pamphlet, Rudder wrote, 'but the doctor was mistaken in some particulars, his treatise was ill-written, and failed in the design.'[40] It seems unlikely that Rudder would have also been mistaken.

[34] Rudder, *Glos.* p.420. Astrop Wells vied with Tunbridge Wells from the mid-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries. It enjoyed the patronage of London society, but then fell out of favour and disappeared as a spa. See P.J.Neville Hevins, *The Spas of England* (London 1976) p.20.

[35] Rudder, *Glos.* p.780.

[36] Rudder, *Glos.* p.430 and p.712 resp.

[37] Dr D.W.Linden, *Hyde Saline Water*, frontispiece.

[38] Hembry, *The English Spa*, p.183.

[39] Ibid. p.160.

[40] Rudder, *Glos.* p.604. For a discussion on the problems of whether the spa developed see B.Elliott, The Hyde Spaw; an early rival to Cheltenham, *Cheltenham Local History Society Journal* 6 (1988) pp. 32–35. The first edition 1 inch O.S. map, surveyed in 1811, shows three buildings and an orchard on the site; very much like a conventional farmyard.

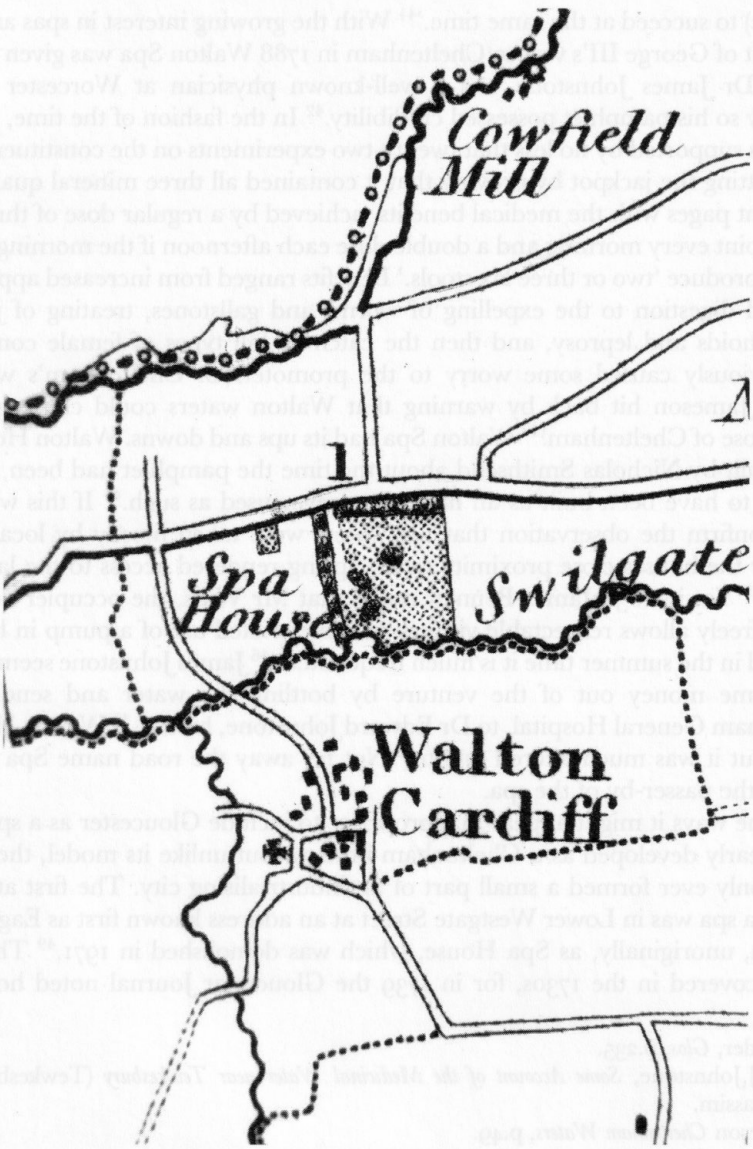


Fig. 3. Walton Spa from Greenwood's map of Gloucestershire 1824.

Two more spa-lets were developed in this early period with the intention of imitating and rivalling Cheltenham in its infancy. One was Walton Spa, near Tewkesbury, and the second was Gloucester itself. Fortunately much more is known about these two than about Hyde Spa. Walton House, a mile from Tewkesbury on the road to Ashchurch, marks the place where the spring was discovered and exploited (Fig.3). A well had been sunk about 1750 to enable the people of Tewkesbury to enjoy the benefits of its purging water, but 'it soon fell into neglect, as being too near Cheltenham

Spaw (sic) to succeed at the same time.'[41] With the growing interest in spas and partly as a result of George III's visit to Cheltenham in 1788 Walton Spa was given a second chance. Dr James Johnstone was a well-known physician at Worcester General Infirmary so his pamphlet possessed credibility.[42] In the fashion of the time, his argument was supported by no less that twenty-two experiments on the constituents of the water, hitting the jackpot by proving that it contained all three mineral qualities. He filled eight pages with the medical benefits, achieved by a regular dose of three-quarters of a pint every morning and a double dose each afternoon if the morning draught failed to produce 'two or three lax stools.' Benefits ranged from increased appetite and improved digestion to the expelling of worms and gallstones, treating of jaundice, haemorrhoids and leprosy, and then the catch-all 'all types of female complaints.' This obviously caused some worry to the promoters of Cheltenham's waters, as Thomas Jameson hit back by warning that Walton waters could cause giddiness, unlike those of Cheltenham![43] Walton Spa had its ups and downs. Walton House (Fig. 4) was built by Nicholas Smithsend about the time the pamphlet had been issued. It was said to have been built as an hotel, but never used as such.[44] If this were so, it would confirm the observation that the waters were taken mostly by local people. However the houses close proximity to the spring rendered access to the latter very difficult.[45] Yet in 1830 James Bennett noted that Mr Witts, the occupier of Walton House, 'freely allows respectable visitors the unrestricted use of a pump in his court-yard, and in the summer time it is much frequented.'[46] James Johnstone seems to have made some money out of the venture by bottling the water and sending it to Birmingham General Hospital, to Dr Edward Johnstone, his son.[47] Walton House still stands, but it was much altered c1880.[48] Not far away the road name Spa Gardens reminds the passer-by of the spa.

In some ways it might appear inappropriate to include Gloucester as a spa-let, yet it was clearly developed as a Cheltenham imitator but unlike its model, the spa and spa life only ever formed a small part of an industrialising city. The first attempt at creating a spa was in Lower Westgate Street at an address known first as Eagle House and then, unoriginally, as Spa House, which was demolished in 1971.[49] The waters were discovered in the 1730s, for in 1739 the Gloucester Journal noted how guests

[41] Rudder, *Glos.* p.235.

[42] Dr J.Johnstone, *Some Account of the Medicinal Water near Tewkesbury* (Tewkesbury 1790) pp.1–22 passim.

[43] Jameson *Cheltenham Waters*, p.49.

[44] L.Richardson, Walton Spa, *Proc.C.N.F.C* xxii (3) (1926) pp.259–61.

[45] T.Rudge, *The History of the County of Gloucester brought down to the year 1803* (Gloucester 1803) p.157.

[46] J.Bennett, *The History of Tewkesbury* (Tewkesbury 1830) p.12.

[47] Johnstone, *Tewkesbury*, titlepage; *Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford 2004) p.401 and p.396 resp.

[48] D.Verey and R.Brooks, *The Buildings of England: Gloucestershire: the Vale and Forest of Dean* (New Haven and London 2002) p.747.

[49] For a more general account of the spa at Gloucester, see three articles by A. Wherry in *Gloucestershire Life* November 1971 p.51, January 1972 p.53 and March 1972 p.55. These coincided with the demolition of Spa House. See also B.Drake, Gloucester Spa, *Gloucestershire History* I (1987) pp.6–8. Unless stated otherwise, the present account is based on these articles, but the interpretations are mine.

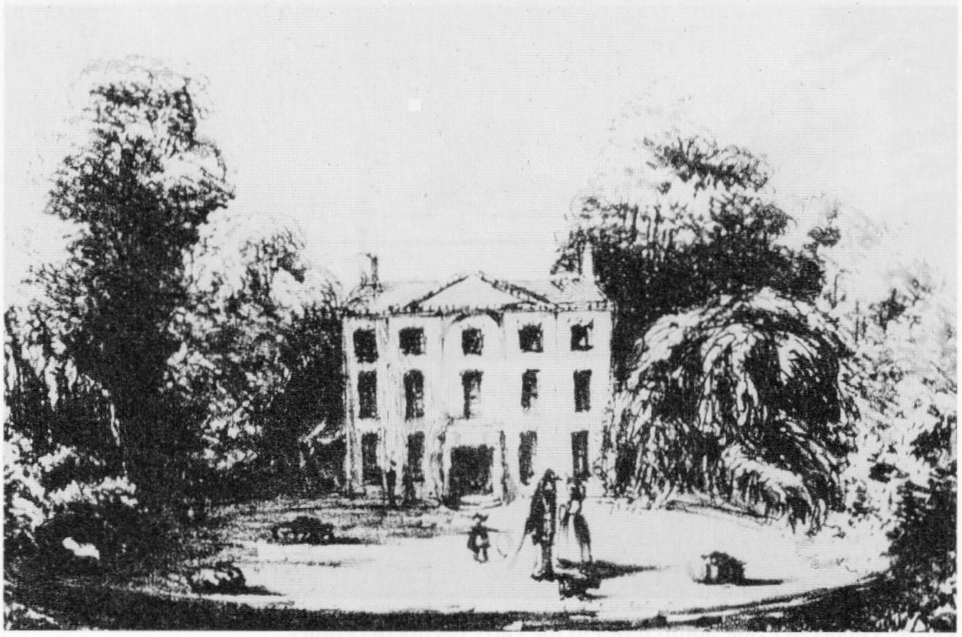


Fig. 4. The original Walton House c.1833.

were staying at the house and that every Thursday in the season, the band of the Gloucestershire Militia entertained at a public breakfast. Once George III's visit had turned the spotlight on Cheltenham, the proprietor of Gloucester spa, a Mr Lewis, had an analysis of the waters and publicised how they had helped his wife's nervous disorders and his daughter's skin complaint, although the salt ruined his cup of tea! The publicity had the desired effect and four hundred visitors a day were recorded. Taking the waters was only one part of a health 'regimen' which had them rising early to take the dose, exercising gently to avoid an unfashionable sweat, and eating modestly. In 1789 a new pump exclusively for the 'Nobility and Gentry' was set up; a sure sign of fashionable approval. Mr Lewis then kept the original pump for the city's poor 'who by applying will still receive great attention as before' but they would now be segregated.[50] By 'poor' he probably meant the city's middle classes who could continue to copy their social superiors, but now at a distance. Popular though the spa was, it lost its attraction on the discovery of another spring in the south east of the city in 1814. It is difficult to identify a date of possible abandonment, but a reference to the Spa Hotel and Boarding House in 1827 lacked any reference to a spa.

So in September 1814 attention turned to the area which is still today known as The Spa. The waters were reputed to be more saline than those of Cheltenham (and therefore more effective!). The speculators were James Jelfs, banker and at the time, mayor of the city, and Charles Evans. Even before a temporary pump room could be set up in October, three hundred people were anxious to take these waters. Promenades, rides and walks were set out and the following May a pump room with hot and cold

[50] *Gloucester Journal* 10 August 1789.

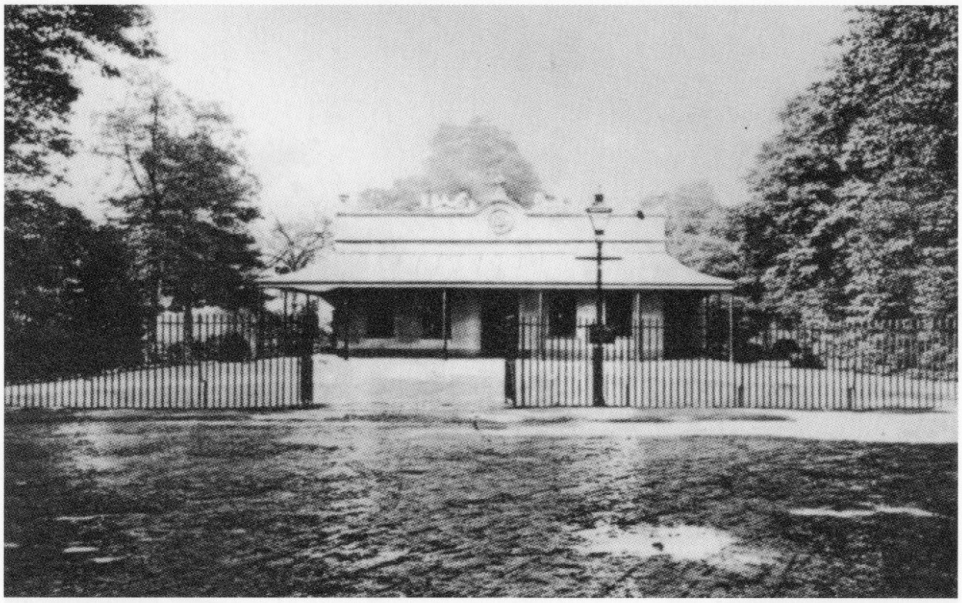


Fig. 5. Gloucester Spa pump room in the early twentieth century.

baths and showers was opened (Fig. 5). Parker's Row, linking the spa to the city, was widened as a promenade—the present Brunswick Road. With the Duke of Norfolk and Sir William Guise of Elmore as two of the sponsors, the spa looked to a successful future. In fact, the proprietors of Newent Spa felt forced to put an advertisement in the Gloucester Journal advertising the 'reopening' of Newent Spa. It clearly felt Gloucester was in danger of usurping its perceived status as the main rival to Cheltenham. Despite this enthusiastic and successful start, financial disaster befell Jelfs in June, when he was declared bankrupt and resigned as mayor. The whole spa complex was then sold to a Mr Philpott for £7,500 and a joint stock company set up to run it. There were profits to be made from developing the surrounding areas for living and lodging to attract the beau monde. By 1829 homes for residents and visitors had been erected but in common with many other spas, as the century progressed it lost its attraction. So in 1860, the proprietors gifted the spa and park to the city council. It set up a pump outside the pump room so non-subscribers could taste the waters, and from 1863 only subscribers could enter the pump room. By 1931 it was out of use and in 1960 it was declared too expensive to renovate, so it was demolished, leaving only a fashionable part of the city as evidence of its existence, having survived the longest of Cheltenham's little imitators.

This second period of spa development in Gloucester took place during the Napoleonic Wars: a period when spas were especially popular and when Cheltenham was the fastest growing spa in the country.[51] Three more spa-lets emerged during the war years. At Lower Swell the discovery of a carbonated chalybeate spring by a

[51] Hembry, *The English Spa*, p.201.

Fig. 6. Stow Spa at Lower Swell.

roadside cottage in 1807 gave hope of fame and wealth to neighbouring Stow on the Wold. A spa house was built onto the cottage in an oriental style reflecting nearby Sezincote House (Fig. 6).[52] The waters were analysed in 1808 by a Mr Farmer and eulogised in a poem written with an enthusiasm which, unfortunately, was short-lived.

> How many Invalids, the Sons of Wealth
> From hence depart with well-recover'd Health
> And bless the Name where'er they have Recourse
> Of him who first discern'd its healing Source.[53]

However, now people in Stow and its visitors had a choice of visiting the traditional holy well of St Edward or the newly-fashionable spa. A tree-lined walk was built from the town to the spa by the local vicar, 'a second Eden sweet and fair.'[54] It can still be followed for part of its way today. In 1922 an old man remembered that there had also been an attempt in the 1840s to set out the grounds around the spa, but by then the spa was in decline. In fact Phyllis Hembry suggests that the auction of the lease in 1814 marked the end of the venture, although this is at odds with the reminiscence of

[52] *V.C.H. Glos.* vi (1965) p.167.
[53] *The Stow Mineral* n.d. c.1808, Glos.R.O. D1375/122.
[54] Ibid.

1922.[55] Despite a modest influx of visitors, the high hopes for attracting 'the Sons of Wealth' were never realised and the spring eventually ran dry.[56]

Almost contemporary with Stow spa was the development of a spa-let at Oldends near Stonehouse, where the Spa Inn still sells its liquids today (Fig. 7).[57] Here a small timber-framed cottage became the spa for dispensing the saline waters from a 175 feet deep well. It was first recorded in 1804 and said to have been increasingly popular by 1815, when a bill of sale for a nearby property expressed the hope that the springs would rival those of Cheltenham. This clearly qualifies it as another of Cheltenham's little imitators. In 1824 it became, like Stow spa, the subject of a piece of doggerel by the local poet W.Lawrence.[58]

> The Stonehouse water yields a rich supply
> To cheer the heart, and soothe the weeping eye
> Its virtue has been tried by rich and poor,
> Who now rejoice and feel a lasting cure.

It is difficult to identify a date by which the pump house/cottage ceased to sell the spa water. In a valuation list of 1840 there is no mention of the spa, but a reminiscence of 1915 noted that fifty years earlier the spa had been attended by 'Society' and a little after that the waters were being sold for a penny a glass, but these two statements would seem to be almost mutually exclusive!

The third little imitator was at Newent; exploiting one of the few mineral springs located west of the river Severn. The spa developed through the enthusiasm and entrepreneurship of Newent surgeon and apothecary, Thomas Richardson. At the end of the eighteenth century Newent did not enjoy a good press. Samuel Rudder found it necessary to leave his horse and travel the poor roads on foot.[59] On reaching Newent he would have found 'an ill-built little town, of very little trade, with but one good inn The George.'[60] However, the situation was changing. Attempts were being made to establish coalfields in the area and in 1795 the Hereford and Gloucester canal reached the town. Although the coalfields never properly materialised and trade on the canal was disappointing, Newent's isolation was being broken down. In 1803 a new road was built to Hereford.[61] Twelve years later Thomas Richardson is recorded as contributing £20 to improve the local highways.[62] It is difficult not to see this as part of his personal strategy to increase access to Newent to encourage usage of the spa into which he put so much energy and, no doubt, finance. Again its strongest selling point was that its waters had similar properties to those of Cheltenham 'and equally beneficial in similar cases.'[63] It has been difficult to discover when the spa was established. The advertisement in the Gloucester Journal at the time of

[55] Hembry, *The English Spa*, p.286.
[56] L.Richardson, Stow spa, *Proc.C.N.F.C*, xxi (2) (1922) pp.75–6.
[57] Much of the following is based on an undated typescript J.Anderson, *The spa that might have been*, Glos.R.O. RR289.14. Again, the interpretations are mine.
[58] *V.C.H. Glos.* x (1972) pp.269–70.
[59] Rudder, *Glos.* p.561.
[60] *British Universal Directory* (1792) p.61.
[61] For these developments, see D. Bick, *The Mines of Newent and Ross* (Newent 1987).
[62] Glos.R.O., P225 VE2/1.
[63] Pigot's *Directory of Gloucestershire* (1822–23) p.61, which has a good description of the spa.

Fig. 7. Stonehouse Spa from Greenwood's map of 1824.

the development of the second Gloucester Spa suggested it had been set up in the 1760s, but no details emerge until the early nineteenth century.[64] A lease of 1822 refers to Lower Court Orchard having been converted into a sheet of water and pleasure grounds.[65] The present lake at Newent was part of an attractive walk laid out by Thomas Richardson and Mr de Visme of New Court House to link the town with the

[64] Phyllis Hembry accepts this date, but gives no evidence for it. Hembry, *The English Spa*, p.286.

[65] Glos.R.O., P225a MI 1/8.

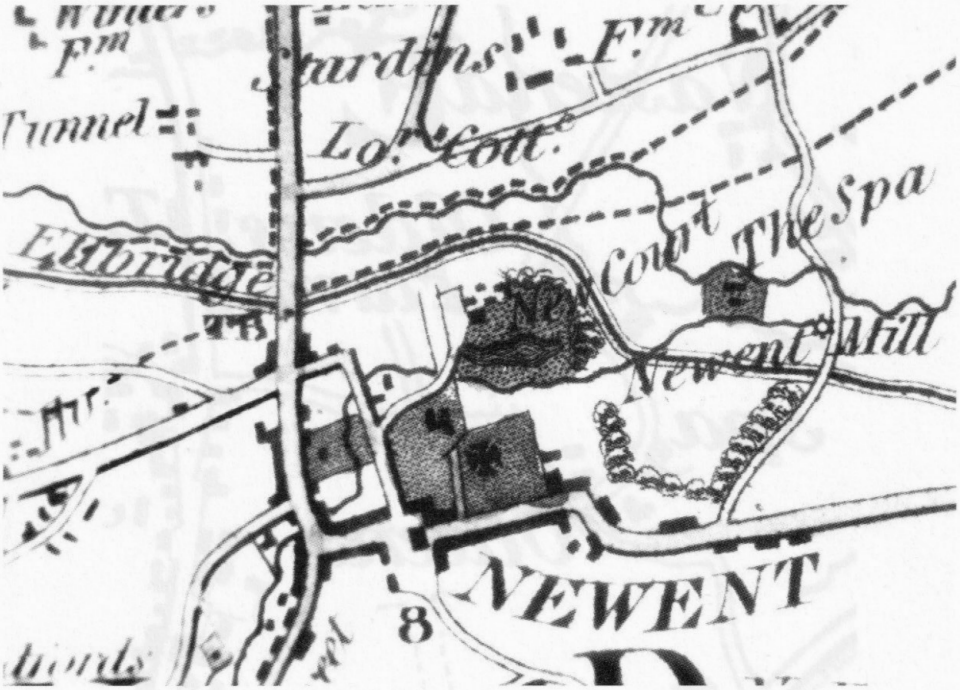


Fig. 8. Newent Spa from Bryant's map of Gloucestershire 1823.

spa, along the lines of Well Walk in Cheltenham. Consequently the spa was in existence by 1822 and the comparison with the second Gloucester Spa would suggest a date about 1815–16, at the end of the Napoleonic Wars. The 'neat little building' stood between the Ell Brook and Hilltop and doubled as a pump room and house for the attendant (Fig. 8). The venture, however, was not long-lived. In 1843 the building was abandoned; by 1846 it had become dilapidated and some time after this it was demolished.[66] Yet Kelly's directory continued to make reference to the spring for another fifty years, as descriptions were copied from one year to the next without changes.[67] This was perhaps the reason the well was later sealed to stop visitors. There is now no evidence where the cottage stood, although the outflow into the Ell Brook can still be traced, with faint terracing to be seen below Hilltop.

To complete this chronology of the establishment and decline of the county's spa-lets, we return to Tewkesbury, for in the early 1840s John Palmer, a local man, sunk a well and built a pump room across the road and almost opposite Walton Spa at his own expense (Fig.9).[68] It doesn't seem ever to have been used but it was fortunately photographed before its demolition in 1961 when Springfield and Wellfield roads were built across the land. The 1840s were years of struggle for an established spa like Cheltenham; this Tewkesbury spa-let stood no chance.

[66] Glos.R.O., D1887 p.60d; Duncan and Richardson, Newent and Pauntley, p.153.

[67] *Kelly's Directory for Gloucestershire* (1897) p.247.

[68] *Tewkesbury Yearly Register and Magazine* ii (1850) p.457–8; Richardson, Walton spa, pp.259–61.

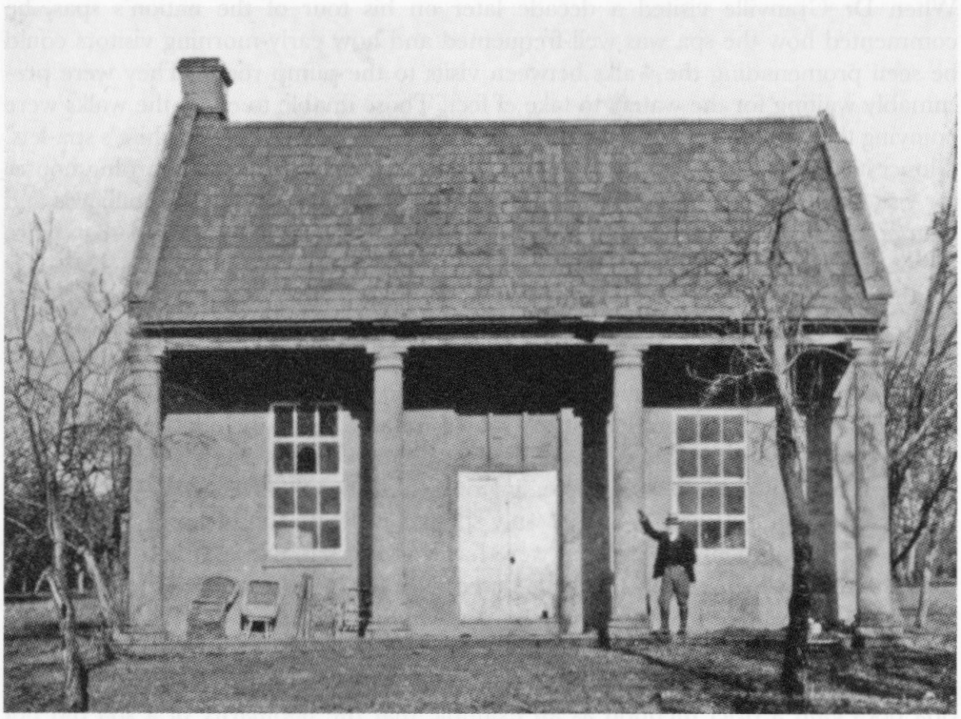


Fig. 9. Mr Packer's pump room at Walton Spa.

So what did the visitors *do* at the spa-lets? To a lesser degree they copied the fashions of their model Cheltenham. The key activity was to drink the waters. For those who managed to drink the recommended fifteen glasses per day at Newent, there probably wasn't much time left once the waters had taken effect! Promenading along walks was another feature of life at a spa. The most attractive was probably at Newent; past Mr de Visme's flooded orchard, across the Hereford and Gloucester canal and the Ell Brook, where the foundations of the footbridge can still be seen. The well cottage was surrounded by an attractive garden and there was terracing on the slope below Hilltop, where benches were laid out for visitors to sit and drink their glass of water.[69] If the walk at Gloucester along Brunswick Road lacked the attractiveness of Newent, the area surrounding the pump room made up for it. Much of the attractive open space was developed into fashionable houses; Brunswick Square, Montpellier Place, Spa Villas and Christ Church (although refronted in the first decade of the twentieth century) still convey today the elegance of the spa quarter of Gloucester which the visitors could visually enjoy (Fig. 10).[70] The attractive gardens around the pump room were shielded from outside by a row of tall trees which reinforced the exclusivity of the spot. The spa became successful in introducing 'many families of the greatest respectability as permanent and more occasional residents.'[71]

[69] Glos.R.O., D412/Z3.
[70] Verey and Brooks, *The Buildings of England*, p.446.
[71] G.W.Counsel, *History and Description of Gloucester* (Gloucester 1829) pp. 187–91.

When Dr Granville visited a decade later on his tour of the nation's spas, he commented how the spa was well-frequented and how early-morning visitors could be seen promenading the walks between visits to the pump room. They were presumably waiting for the waters to take ef fect! Those unable to enjoy the walks were enjoying the hot and cold baths in the pump room.[72] Of all Gloucestershire's spa-lets, Gloucester came closest to being a fully-fledged spa with hotels and boarding houses for visitors, a pump room offering more than just the waters, a room for billiards and a large area of spa grounds with ornamental trees and foreign shrubs. In 1829 balls, public breakfasts and summer band concerts were promised by the new tenant, Mr Wathen.[73] Visitors could take the waters home with them at eight shillings a dozen bottles.[74] Its traditional attractiveness for the county gentry in the May to October season undoubtedly gave it an advantage over the rest of Cheltenham's little imitators, but it couldn't ultimately prevent its sharing their fate. In a hint of cynicism Counsel observed in his guide that the growth in housing in the area of the spa had as much to do with the fact it was an extra-parochial part of the city with 'very trifling' rates as it was to do with immersing oneself in the life of the spa![75]

Gloucester and Newent were the only spa-lets to feature in Granville's itinerary, although his comments on Newent were hardly flattering, 'Newent Spa is hardly of that character which requires it to be described fully among the principal watering places that form the subject of my present volumes, and I have only alluded to it in this place as an object of geological interest.'[76] However, in Newent's defence, his visit could only have been a couple of years before its ultimate demise. Tewkesbury New Spa does gain a brief mention as an example that the popularity of a spa did not depend upon the strength of its waters.[77] As already noted, it does not seem that the pump room was ever used. Even at the old spa across the road at Walton House there was nothing to attract visitors except the waters themselves. Visitors had to stay in lodgings in the town, but it was hardly a place to attract the 'beau monde' of Regency England, despite Dr Johnstone's rhetoric, 'the principal inhabitants of this place have agreed to accommodate ladies and gentlemen, who come for the use of Walton Spa, with lodging and other conveniences, on the most reasonable terms; new buildings are to be erected on the spot for that purpose.'[78] This is possibly the source of the belief that Walton House was originally built as an hotel. Only The Swan, the premier coaching inn, had both rooms for visitors and other rooms which could be used as assembly rooms. In 1820 there were fifteen taverns and eight other inns catering mostly for the needs of the townsfolk.[79] One surviving piece of landscape evidence suggests there was some attempt to turn the walk from the town to the spa into an amenity enjoyed at so many other spas. On the north side of Barton Road, immediately east of Chance Street stands a row of three houses with Regency verandas; two

[72] Granville, *Spas of England,* ii, p.329.
[73] Counsel, *Gloucester,* p.189.
[74] *Gloucester Saline, Aperient and Chalybeate Spa* (Gloucester n.d.) Glos.R.O., NF23.8GS.
[75] Counsel, *Gloucester,* p.189.
[76] Granville, *Spas of England,* ii, p.344.
[77] Ibid. p.152.
[78] Quoted in *Tewkesbury Yearly Register and Magazine* ii (1850) p.458.
[79] *V.C.H. Glos.* viii (1968) p.124.

Fig. 10. Beaufort Buildings, Gloucester. This was the closest any of the spa-lets came to looking like Cheltenham.

are made from wood, but the third would not look out of place in Cheltenham. They look like the beginning of the promenade to Walton (Fig. 11).

As noted previously, on the Cotswolds at Stow on the Wold, visitors could promenade along the tree-lined walk down to the spa directly from The Unicorn, the principal inn of the town. The inn advertised itself as fit for the nobility, with an annual ball and rooms for assemblies. It also possessed a bowling green where guests could partake of tongue, beef, ham and fowl washed down with ale, beer and wine when they had finished their game. In Stow there were new shops and also a lending library, set up by Mr Archer, primarily for the visitors. It was the only known successful example of a library in the spa-lets, but an important feature of life in Cheltenham.[80] Three times, in 1802, 1814 and 1828 similar ventures failed in Tewkesbury.[81] The rustic muse in the poem *The Stow Mineral* noted that Stow was experiencing a period of renewal and growth and visitors were well-catered for as,

> Lodgings well-furnish'd are prepar'd with Speed
> And ready Air'd for every Invalid.

They could take a cold bath at the spa and stay in the two cottages which were attached to it. As in other places, the water could be taken away in bottles. Despite the enthusiasm for the spa, it did not meet with the expectations and was 'to foul Oblivion' consigned.

At Hyde Spa ascertaining whether the hot and cold baths and lodgings were ever built remains a problem. Rudder in 1779 and Jameson in 1803 are hardly likely to be wrong in stating that the spring was never brought into general use. On the other hand, it is certain that large numbers of bottles of the water and of salts, sealed by Lord Craven's coat of arms, seem to have been sent to Covent Garden and Southwark London. They were sent by John Timbrell, the original tenant, and then by Mr Ironmonger, a Cheltenham doctor, However, Jameson wrote that by then the water was only being used to wash the utensils on the farm.[82] By 1931 the position of the spring 'in the farmyard' had been lost.[83] When Beryl Elliott visited the site in the late 1980s she was told that an 'unusually large boiler' had been demolished in 1976. If it dated from the spa it is more likely to have been used for evaporating the salt rather than heating water for the baths, as she suggested, for in the 1750s it would have been extremely difficult to obtain sufficient coal to keep it regularly stoked. Selling the waters provided a profit without great investment into a spa complex. Beryl Elliott did identify a possible promenade of about a hundred metres stretching north from the farm to the Hyde Brook.[84] Clearly more investigation needs to be undertaken here. Finally, and briefly, at Oldends, Stonehouse, the only amenities provided were the rooms in the inn, but being patronised almost exclusively by local people, for whom the lack of facilities was not a disincentive to visit.

So why did the spa-lets decline? Augustus Glanville considered there were just too

[80] Hembry *The English Spa*, p.285.
[81] K.Ross, *The Book of Tewkesbury* (Buckingham 1986) p.45.
[82] Jameson, *Cheltenham Waters*, p.47.
[83] *V.C.H. Glos.* viii (1968) p.70.
[84] Elliott, *The Hyde Spaw* p.35. Phyllis Hembry also considers that Hyde Spa functioned as described by Dr Linden. Hembry *The English Spa*, p.160 and p.183.

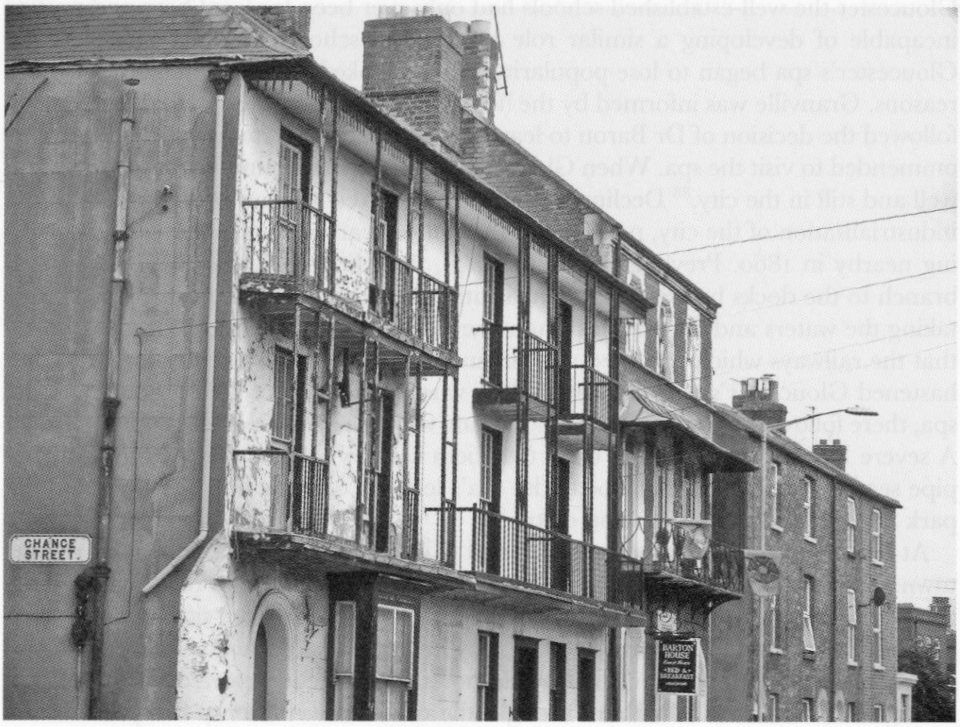


Fig.11. Balconies in Barton Road in Tewkesbury.

many spa-lets to be viable—the spread of potential visitors was just too thin.[85] Not only were they a poor reflection of Cheltenham with its varied and popular spas, their size hindered the setting up of amenities to attract the visitors and create a viable spa life, as Fosbrooke noted at the time. This was both cause and consequence of their small size. Only Gloucester, which already enjoyed a privileged place among county society, were any of the trappings beyond the pump room and its immediate surroundings able to match those of Cheltenham, to which they all aspired. As the fashion for taking the waters faded from the 1840s, those whose claims to be spas were the weakest, were those who tended to disappear more quickly and completely. However, the reasons sometimes given at the time were at odds with later reasons.

When Glanville visited Cheltenham he wrote, 'That the reputation of Cheltenham as a spa is on the wane—nay, escaping fast from it—is a fact, the announcement of which will not sound new to a greater number of my readers.'[86] As this happened, new avenues were sought to keep the town popular, in Cheltenham's case the development as a centre for education, tapping the aspirations of the growing middle class, nationally as well as locally.[87] This was a path its little imitators could not follow. In

[85] Granville, *Spas of England, ii,* Preface p.ii.

[86] Ibid. p.284.

[87] For a comparative study of Cheltenham and other spa towns regarding education, see Hevins, *Spas of England* , Chapter 10.

Gloucester the well-established schools had only ever been for local boys and proved incapable of developing a similar role to the new schools in Cheltenham. When Gloucester's spa began to lose popularity, people looked for immediate and obvious reasons. Granville was informed by the (female) attendant of the spa that decline had followed the decision of Dr Baron to leave the city so that no more patients were recommended to visit the spa. When Glanville investigated he found Dr Baron alive and well and still in the city.[88] Decline was much more likely to have been the continuing industrialisation of the city, particularly the railway carriage and wagon works opening nearby in 1860. Previous to this, in 1848, the Midland Railway High Orchard branch to the docks had cut across the southern boundary of the park.[89] For visitors taking the waters and the air, this was somewhat less than salubrious! It was ironical that the railways which breathed new life into Cheltenham as a centre for education hastened Gloucester's decline. From 1860, when the Board of Health took over the spa, there followed a century of decline ending with the demolition of the pump room. A severe blow occurred in the early twentieth century when sewage from a broken pipe seeped into the waters. Today the spa's legacies of some fine buildings and the park remain, but not their raison d'être.[90]

At Newent the spa had been an attempt to bring new life to a moribund market town. The death of its founder and chief backer Dr Richardson in 1828 removed the key enthusiast, and although the local people continued to visit the site for a long period, the spa in its complete form had faded by mid century. With a complete disregard for chronology, J.Douglas in his historic notes on Newent reported the belief that George III's visit to Cheltenham brought the decline, over twenty five years before the spa was fully opened![91]

It was said that competition from Cheltenham hindered the flourishing of the first Walton Spa, and that the second never opened because the promoters were paid off by Cheltenham financiers, who feared a loss on their speculation.[92] The basis of these contemporary reasons has not been found. The town of Tewkesbury was overcrowded and unhealthy. In 1782 650 stocking frames were at work; not the attractive attributes of a spa town.[93] In 1832 it was badly hit by cholera; a water-borne disease caused by insanitary conditions.[94] It is doubtful whether many non-local people ever attended the spas a mile along the Ashchurch road. At Stonehouse the visitors to the spa seemed not to have diminished in number, but the water turned into wine (and beer) becoming the main reason for visiting the Spa Inn, which by the mid-nineteenth century was described as a beer house. At Lower Swell, the changing fashions were against its long-term success. It had always been too rural for many people.

> The Spot is rural, Here the Oxen Cough,
> Near this the Steed drags home th'inverted Plough.[95]

[88] Granville, *Spas of England*, ii, p.331.
[89] http://glostransporthistory.softdata.co.uk
[90] Drake, *Gloucester Spa*, p.8.
[91] J.Douglas, *Historical Notes on Newent* (Newent 1912) p.9.
[92] *V.C.H. Glos.* viii (1968) p.175.
[93] Ibid. p.144.
[94] Ibid. p.146.
[95] *The Stow Mineral*, n.p.

Hyde Spa was too close to Cheltenham to be a real rival and too far away to be successful in attracting visitors, and its status as an actual spa remains uncertain. However, in the years of the fading of the spa, Prestbury parish has thrown up an interesting footnote, based on the growing popularity of hydropathy, or the cold water cure.[96]

In July 1842 Dr Beamish opened his hydropathic centre. It only enjoyed a short period of use, closing by March 1846. Prestbury was chosen for its 'dry soil, pure air, a hilly and picturesque country, and, above all, *wholesome* water' which flowed down from Knoll Hill to his establishment on the corner where the road to Southam leaves the High Street. Various treatments were offered; sitting in cold baths, using foot baths, being wrapped in cold, wet sheets and, more acceptably to modern minds, copious drinking of the water before meals. Using the well-tried formula of testimonials from satisfied customers, Dr Beamish publicised his work. One example of the successful treatment gives us an indication of what happened. Mrs Williams, a respected shopkeeper from the town, attended in October 1842. Her complaint was severe headache which meant she could not stand without help. Previous to attending the hydropathic centre the treatment she had been prescribed included her head being totally swathed in bandages and her ears blocked up with cotton, blisters being raised on the back of her neck, leeches applied inside her mouth and two teeth extracted. The treatment she received at the centre must have seemed to her to have been blessed relief, even though she was wrapped in cold, wet bandages, put into a cold bath twice a day and made to drink large quantities of cold water before any meal. After thirteen days of such treatment, Dr Beamish declared she was cured! This was no spa for the idle rich, it was serious medical treatment for the genuinely ill. As such it could be said to be a little imitator of Malvern, for the Worcestershire spa turned to the cold water cure to continue to attract visitors.

As spas declined nationally and Cheltenham lost its visitors, despite the attractions of its social life, so its little imitators faded away. Born out of the high hopes of individuals to make money and raise the tone of their localities, they could never compete with their model in terms of status, amenities and attractions. They all enjoyed their own brief heyday and they all had individual reasons for their decline. Cheltenham's place in the national context of the spa movement is well-known; the purpose of this study has been to show its impact within the county as it spawned its own 'little imitators'—the spa-lets of Gloucestershire.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This would note have been written without the help of many people. My interest in the topic goes so far back that some will have forgotten their assistance! The staff at Gloucestershire Archives, the erstwhile Gloucestershire Collection, the county's site and monuments record and the libraries at Cheltenham and Gloucester have always met my enquiries with courtesy and efficiency. I have profited from the expertise of

Roger Beacham, the late David Bick, Steven Blake, Tim Curr and Bernard Snape. To all these people I owe my thanks. The illustrations are my own or are taken from

[96] This account is based upon R.Beamish, *The Cold Water Cure....with an account of cases treated successfully at Prestbury, near Cheltenham* (London 1846).

the public domain. I have not been able to discover the provenance of the photograph of Gloucester Spa. My final thanks go to my wife Margaret for being my 'critical friend' in helping me turn my notes into readable prose. Any failings, of course, are mine alone.

XIII

St Michael's Church, Gloucester: A Reconsideration of the Excavations of 1956

C M HEIGHWAY and J F RHODES

INTRODUCTION

AN IMPORTANT recent study[1] has looked at the genesis of Gloucester's medieval topography with special regard to churches.. The site of St Michael's church is of particular significance. Standing at the south-east corner of the central crossroads, this is not only one of Gloucester's earliest churches; it occupies a key point in the shift of the main east-west street (Westgate Street and Eastgate Street) from the Roman line to a medieval line further north (Fig 1). This shift seems to have been a long process, beginning with a re-organisation in the early 5th century when a metalling was created which extended over the north-west corner of the forum, the main street and demolished Roman buildings to the north of the street.[2] The Anglo-Saxon burh created c. 900 contained a regular grid of streets recreated within the Roman walls, apparently on a four-pole module. The new street grid bore no relation to the Roman streets—yet the plan appears to be generated from the principal Roman EW street, at the very point where St Michael's church stands.[3]

In these circumstances a reconsideration of the 1956 St Michael's excavations seemed long overdue. The 1956 excavation report was confusing and inconclusive: it was the view of Baker and Holt that only more excavation could elucidate the topographical history. The present article takes up this challenge and reconsiders the 1956 excavation report: in addition important advances to understanding have derived from examination of the documented medieval tenements adjacent to the church.

Though entering the documentary record only in the mid 12th century, St Michael's was one of Gloucester's earliest churches. It was probably one of the ten in existence by 1100 and was possibly founded two centuries earlier;[4] 'Its position at the very centre of Gloucester, on the corner of Eastgate Street and Southgate Street, was so prominent that it was surely earmarked for a church when the street-system of the

[1] N Baker and R Holt, Urban Growth and the Medieval Church: Gloucester and Worcester (Aldershot 2004), 69–70.

[2] C Heighway, A Garrod, and A Vince, 'Excavations at 1 Westgate Street Gloucester 1975', Medieval Archaeology 23 (1979), 159–213.

[3] Baker and Holt, *Urban Growth*, 66, 69.

[4] A R J Jurica, 'Churches and Chapels' in N M Herbert (ed), *The Victoria History … of the County of Gloucester* 4: *The City of Gloucester* (Oxford 1988, hereafter cited as *V C H Glos* 4), 292–316, at 305; *Baker and Holt, Urban Growth*, 109.

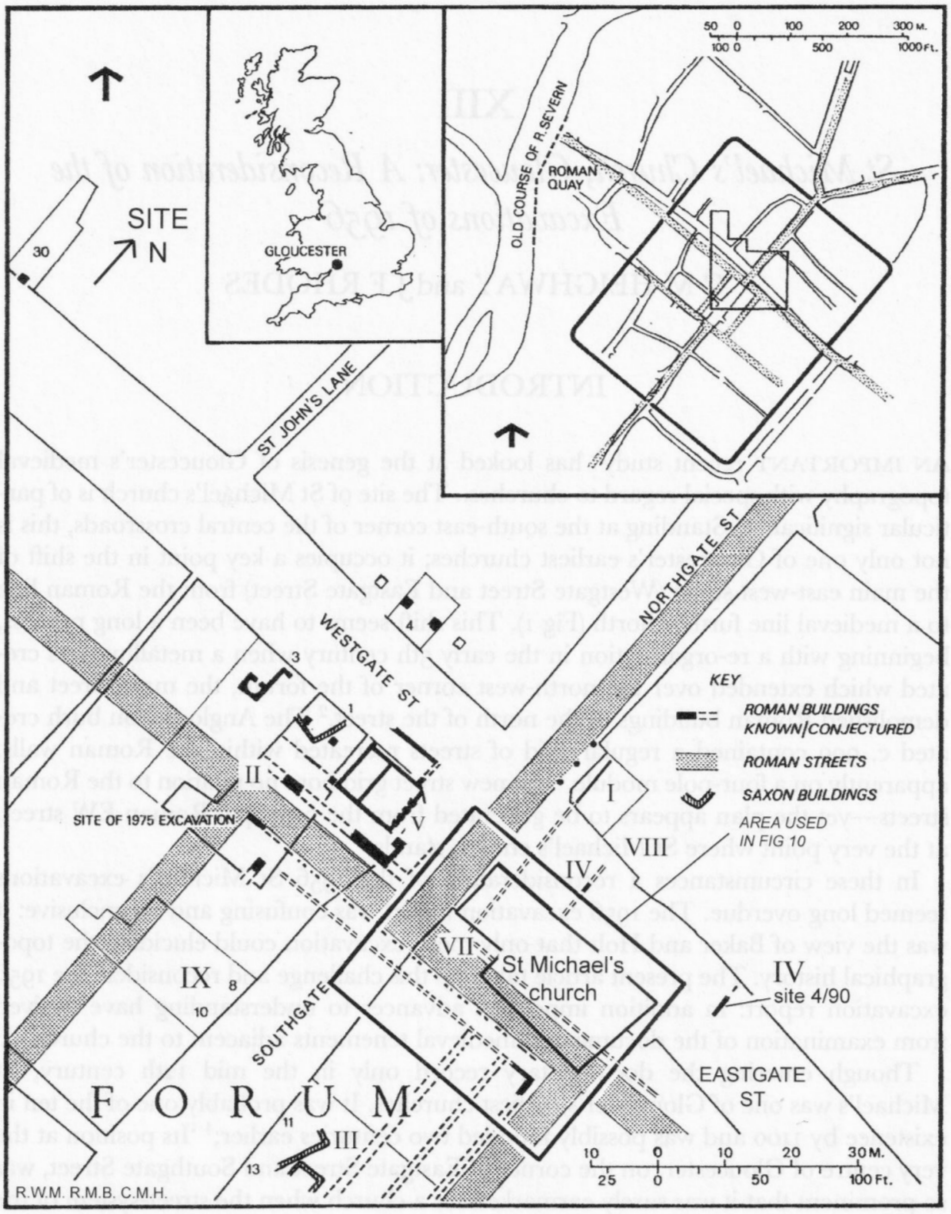


Fig 1. Location plan, showing former excavations identified by Roman numerals as in the text.

eastern half of the burh was laid out'.[5] Its significant central site contributed to its function as a symbol of urban life: and in particular the regulation of time. Its bell in 1393 was tolled by public expense as a curfew[6] and the church received a bell-tower

[5] Baker and Holt, *Urban Growth*, 109.
[6] *V C H Glos* 4, 308.

in 1455–72. The city corporation gave materials and money for repair of the church in 1653–4.[7]

The church's site was cramped, and it had no burial ground until *c.* 1366 when a plot to the south was acquired for the purpose.[8] The graveyard was severely overcrowded by the early 19th century and a new graveyard in Barton Street was consecrated in 1839.[9] The church was in poor repair in the 1800s and in 1850 was rebuilt, except for the tower, by the well-known architect F S Waller.[10] In 1956 Waller's church was demolished, and opportunity was provided for an excavation which was carried out by Gloucester City Museum and the Gloucester Roman Research Committee.[11]

THE EXCAVATED EVIDENCE

by C M Heighway

The excavation of 1956 (Figs 2–3)

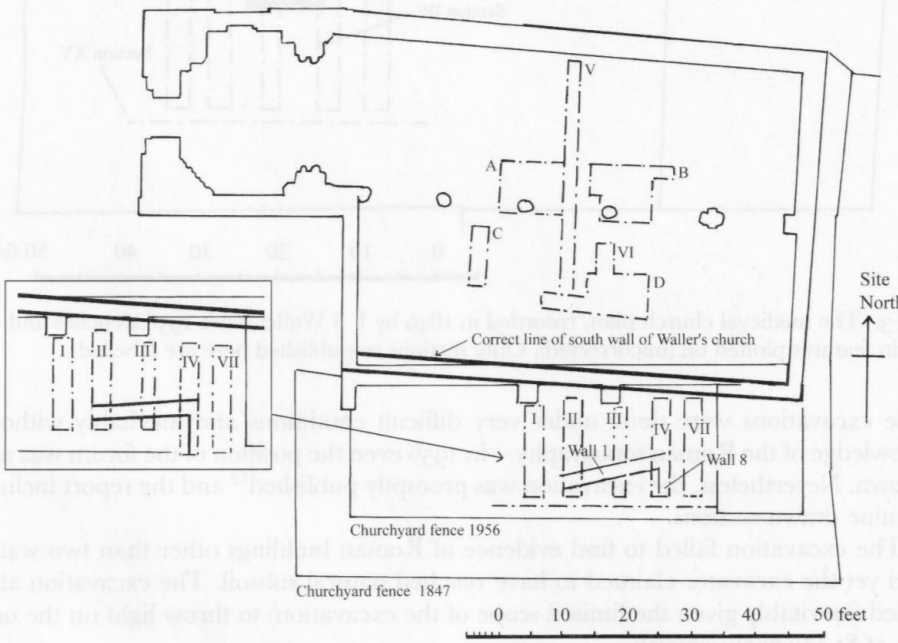


Fig 2. The 1956 excavation base plan and trench plot (Cra'ster, 'St Michael's', Fig 1) with the true line of the south church wall shown as a heavy line. The inset shows trenches I-IV and VII, as well as Roman Wall 1, with their alignment adjusted to the corrected line of the south wall. The churchyard fence of 1956 is taken from the excavation plan.

[7] *V C H Glos* 4, 307.
[8] GRO P154/14/CH3/1.
[9] *Gloucester Journal* 27 April 1839.
[10] *V C H Glos* 4, 307–8.
[11] M Cra'ster, 'St Michael's Gloucester 1956' *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 80 (1961) 59–74.

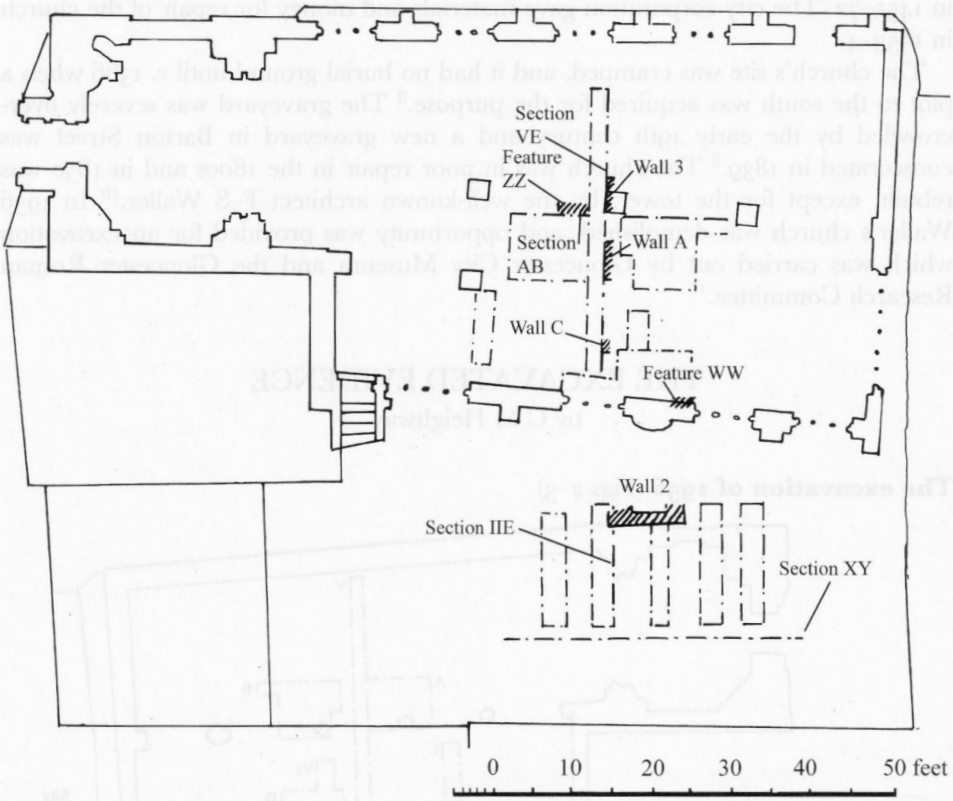


Fig 3. The medieval church plan, recorded in 1849 by F S Waller, with 1956 trenches and main features plotted on (uncorrected). Only sections re-published here are labelled.

The excavations were done under very difficult conditions and inevitably without knowledge of the Roman topography—in 1956 even the position of the forum was not known. Nevertheless, the excavation was promptly published[12] and the report included nine drawn sections.

The excavation failed to find evidence of Roman buildings other than two walls, and yet the excavator claimed to have reached natural subsoil. The excavation also failed (inevitably given the limited scope of the excavation) to throw light on the origin of St Michael's church.

When the excavation began, St Michael's church had just been demolished. Rubble and most of the burials were machined away (as was standard practice for archaeological excavations of churches at the time). The water table was so high as to cover Roman levels and pumping does not seem to have been possible.

Excavation methodology was also of the time. A grid of boxes was attempted—squares A-D in the church—but the excavator was frustrated by the density of vaults and walls. In the churchyard five parallel trenches (I-IV and VII) were dug by machine.

[12] Cra'ster, 'St Michael's'.

The site base plan,[13] onto which trenches are plotted, is based on a 'sketch plan' of the pre-1850 church. No reference is given for this, and it has not been possible to establish the source. Comparison with the plans by Waller both of the pre-1850 church (Fig 3) and of his new church[14] shows that on Cra'ster's fig 1 the north wall of the old church and the south wall of the new one were wrongly aligned (Fig 2).

The stated purpose of the 1956 excavation was to find Roman buildings, so the excavator was disappointed to find only two possible Roman walls, one of which (Wall 1) was apparently on a non-Roman alignment. All the trenches came down on a layer of 'clayey sand with pebbles' which was just below the water table. This was interpreted as natural, and excavation did not penetrate beneath it. A borehole was dug which encountered further gravel/clay deposits which were also viewed as natural, though this interpretation was disputed at the time.[15] Above 'natural' the excavation encountered deposits up to 7 feet thick of 'black peaty earth' which Cra'ster interpreted as a bog created by the blocking of the Roman drains in the post Roman period.[16]

Adjacent sites: findings since 1956 (Fig 1)

The following paragraphs summarise excavations in the immediate area of St Michael's church. Imperial measurements including OD heights are used throughout to accord with the terminology of the 1956 excavation.

I The Cross (2–4 Northgate Street; 1–3 Eastgate Street)

The observation of building works at the Cross in 1960 was done in far from ideal conditions but the record was impeccable and moreover some Roman buildings survived.[17] The site is only 50 feet to the north of St Michael's and occupies the corner of the medieval crossroads at the town centre. A Roman building with a streetside colonnade on the west had floors represented by layers of gravel, resting on natural gravel subsoil at 51.5 to 52.8 feet AOD.

II I Westgate Street

Late Roman buildings in an insula just north of the forum were deliberately levelled in the late Roman period, c. 370–400, and timber-sill buildings placed on the raft of rubble.[18] After a short period of use the whole area including the street was covered with a well-made metalling of pebbles (Period 3E). This in turn was overlain by a layer of fine sterile silt (Period 3F), which collected in the hollows where the metalling had slumped into softer ground beneath. This silt layer was thought to represent a considerable number of years. Over the silt accumulated, apparently rapidly, black organic

[13] Cra'ster, 'St Michael's', Fig 1.

[14] ICBS 04242: Gloucester St Michael 1850 ground plans created by Fulljames and Waller: Society of Antiquaries London. Another plan by Waller of the pre-1850 church is bound into Glos. Record Office D9125/3673 vol. 1 (C. H. Dancey, 'History of the Church of St Michael Gloucester compiled from City and Parochial Records, MS, 1895).

[15] Cra'ster, 'St Michael's', 62.

[16] Cra'ster, 'St Michael's', 68.

[17] A G Hunter 'Building Excavations at The Cross, Gloucester' *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 99 (1981) 79–108.

[18] Heighway, Garrod and Vince, Period 3A, 3B.

matter. There were two phases of this: the first included evidence of fencing and domestic wooden objects and was dated to the 9th century (Period 4), after which further organic levels built up during the 10th century (Period 5). A sunken timber-lined cellar, aligned neither on Roman or medieval streets, was dated to the 10th century.

III 11–17 Southgate Street

Excavations in 1968–9 and observations of contractors' work found evidence of walls and surfaces interpreted as the south-east area of the forum and part of the street to its east. Period 3, the latest (2nd century) building phase of the forum had a sandstone paved courtyard bounded by colonnaded ranges on east and south, with a double colonnade to the east. The original construction of the courtyard involved levelling the ground surface down by c. 60 cm; however the east range was laid on the unaltered ground level. There was evidence in the forum courtyard of a monument base supporting a bronze statue.

Above the last courtyard surface was a deposit of black gritty loam with a small amount of building rubble: this contained a few sherds of 4th century pottery and some bones. Above this was 40 cm of 'stoneless grey loam of silty appearance'.

In the contractors' excavations to the north this last layer was seen to be replaced by a black peaty layer which contained preserved organic remains.

The subsequent phase (Period 6) consisted of pits and also a compacted brown organic deposit thought to be contemporary with the pits. These produced residual Roman finds, and objects of wood and leather.

Period 7 was represented by buildings made with wattle and floors of blue lias clay. This deposit produced RC dates in the 8th century.[19]

Finally Period 8 was represented by plank buildings M3 and M4. M4 had a floor of redeposited lias clay. This phase was thought to be 10th to early 11th century.[20]

IV Eastgate Street sewer trench

A sewer trench the length of Eastgate Street was observed. A building 197 feet (60m) long on the North side of the Roman EW street was floored with a mixture of crushed oolite and orange gravel, very similar to road surfacing. This building was robbed and a build-up of organic loams and demolition debris was deposited to a depth of 1 to 1.3 feet (0.3–0.4 m) The deposits were very rubbly and had a road-like appearance. Just north of the site of St Michael's church two north-south walls were recorded forming part of a second building west of the first—the westernmost of these walls was only briefly seen during observation of a burst water main.[21]

Nearby observations in antiquity

V

Excavations in 1897 recorded a Roman building, including the bases of columns on the east side facing Southgate Street.[22]

[19] Unpublished: Heighway, Garrod and Vince, footnote 18: HAR 1636, 1443, 1446, 1444.

[20] H Hurst, 'Excavations at Gloucester: 1st interim report', *Antiquaries Journal* 52(1972), 58–62.

[21] Phil Greatorex, pers com and in 'Observations on the Eastgate Street Sewer Renewal Scheme Gloucester 1990 (site 4/90)', *Glevensis* 25 (1991), 25–29.

[22] M H Medland 'Roman and Medieval Remains on the site of the Tolsey at Gloucester 1895' *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 19 (1894–5), 142–158.

VI

'Some fragments of the walls of a Roman habitation' were found *c.* 1850 'when excavating for the foundations of St Michael's church.[23]

VII

At 1 Southgate Street (just south of St Michael's church), building work in 1907 uncovered several large stones about 4ft × 2 ft × 1.5 ft in bond with each other[24] and part of a round column about 22 inches diameter.

VIII

A mosaic paving was found at no 5 Eastgate street in 1849 at least 10 ft below ground level.[25]

IX

At 8–10 Southgate Street *c.* 1896 was found at a depth of 9 ft 6 inches a Roman road covered with pebbles and two barrow loads of saddler's leather.[26]

REINTERPRETATION

Introduction

The Gloucester Roman fortress is not orientated on true north, but for ease of description it is assumed to do so: true north-east is therefore described as North and all cardinal points follow suit.

No original excavation notes are known: this analysis has used only the 1961 publication.

The excavations were too limited in area to provide coherent plans, but the sections provide a sequence. The first stage of reinterpretation, after scanning all sections to the same scale, was to analyse the archaeological sequence, section by section, and divide it into groups of related deposits. The new deposit groups were assigned numbers prefixed SM.

A selection of sections are republished with the unchanged original above and an interpretation with SM numbers. The sections are referred to by Trench number and the direction faced: e.g. the West face of Trench IV is section IVW. The layer numbers on the original sections are deposit descriptions, not stratigraphic units: the key is reproduced here as part of Fig 5.

An interpretation of the Roman topography is given first.

Roman topography (Fig 1)

A layer of 'clayey sand with pebbles' at about 54 ft AOD was identified in 1956 as 'natural'; it is referred to below as 'layer 12'. It occurred at the base of nearly all the

[23] J Clark *The Architectural History of Gloucester* (Gloucester [1850]), 7. The exact position of the walls is unknown.

[24] L E W O Fulbrook Leggatt *Roman Gloucester (Glevum)*,(1968), 36).

[25] Fullbrook-Leggatt, *Glevum*, 39: *Gloucestershire Notes and Queries* 6, 1894–5, 184.

[26] Fullbrook Leggatt, *Glevum*, 33.

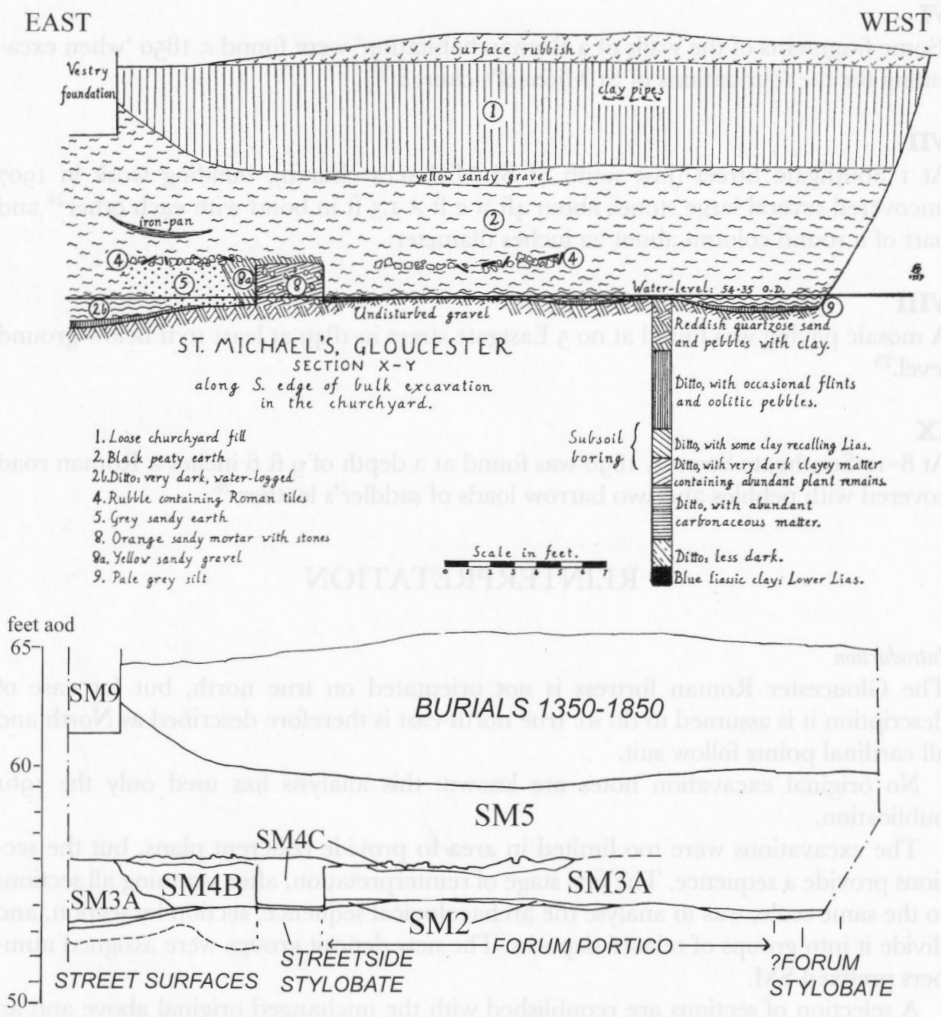


Fig 4. Outside the church: Cra'ster's section XY and interpretation

1956 trenches. Natural gravel at The Cross was at about 52.8 AOD.[27] Natural clay further east was at 53 feet (16.2 m).[28] 'Layer 12' could have been natural in places, but elsewhere as on the site of Craster's borehole (Fig 4), is more likely to represent redeposited gravel.

The position of the Roman streets and stylobates can be plotted with some confidence from information at 11–17 Southgate Street and 1 Westgate Street (II and III above). Roman streets have been taken as being the same level AOD as those at 1 Westgate Street, where the modern street level is the same as that beside St Michael's. Hunter's excavations at 2–4 Northgate Street (**I**, above) uncovered a roadside

[27] Hunter 1981, 81.
[28] Greatorex pers comm.

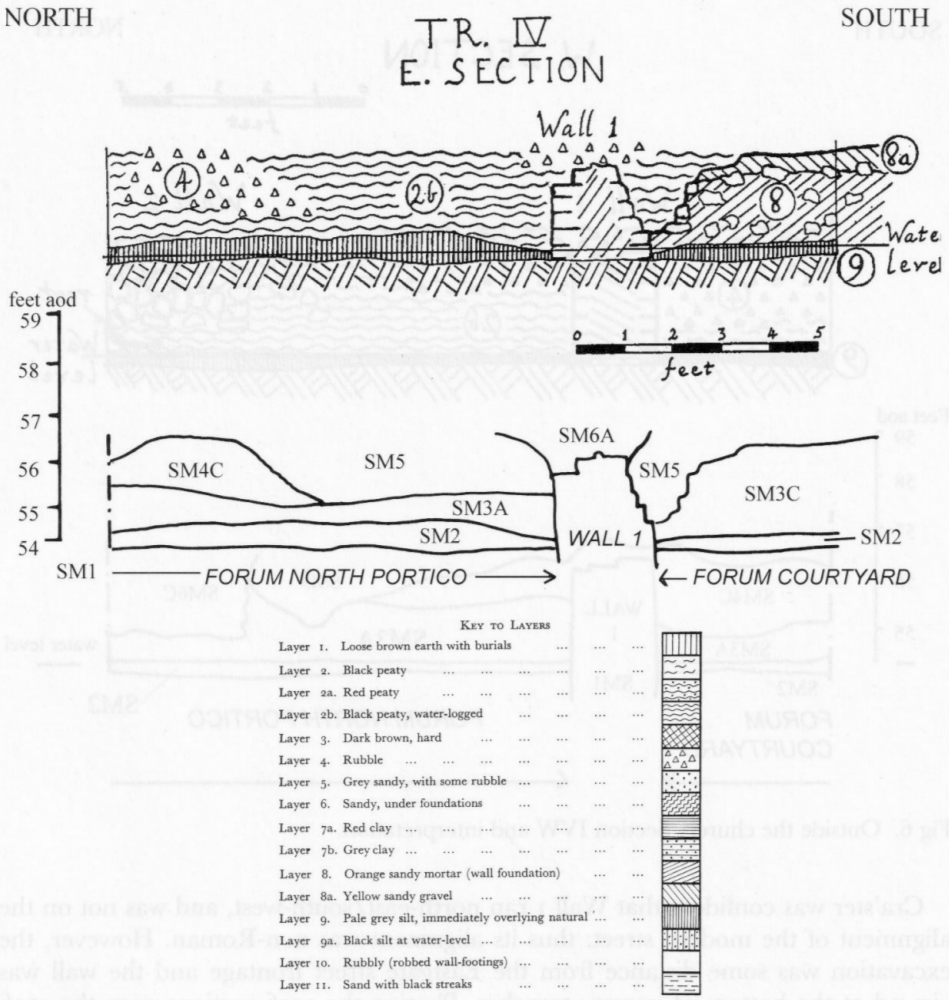


Fig 5. Outside the church: Section IVE and interpretation, also showing the key to layers on all sections from Cra'ster, 'St Michael's', 69.

colonnade/stylobate and portico: though this was probably a different property to that on the St Michael's site, the line of the portico has been tentatively extended south. North-south walls were also observed under Eastgate Street (**IV** above).

Wall 1, found in 1956, consisted of a 10 foot length of standing good-quality faced masonry. Cra'ster shows Wall 1 on sections IVE (Fig 5) and IVW (Fig 6) as resting on layer 12. Yet Cra'ster describes this wall as 'bedded into solid natural':[29] the fact that its robber trench in section IIE (Fig 7) is shown as not penetrating layer 9 must be a recording error (if Cra'ster thought layer 12 was natural she might well draw it under features where she did not really see it: also the photographs suggest that sections were not cut vertically or cleaned and the lower parts were not visible because of waterlogging).

[29] Cra'ster, 'St Michael's', 66.

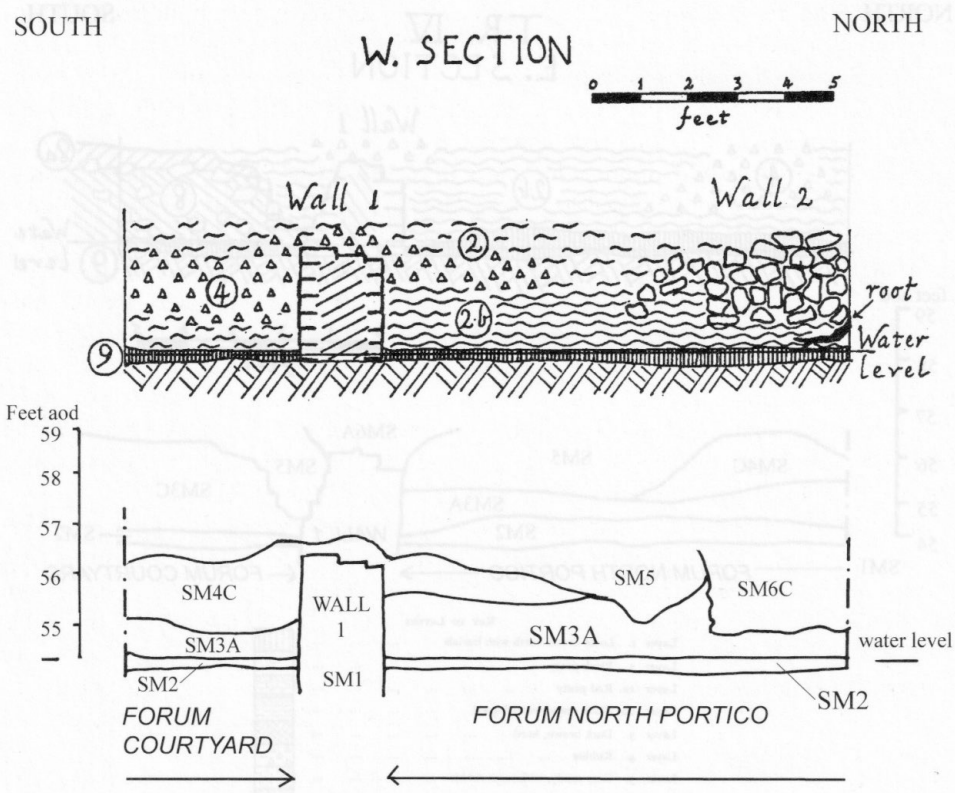


Fig 6. Outside the church: Section IVW and interpretation.

Cra'ster was confident that Wall 1 ran north-east/south-west, and was not on the alignment of the modern street: thus its alignment was non-Roman. However, the excavation was some distance from the Eastgate street frontage and the wall was viewed at the bottom of narrow trenches. Plotting the 1956 sections onto the 1956 trench plan produces a wall at a much less acute angle than her plan. More significant, Cra'ster was using an inaccurate plan of Waller's church (Fig 2). Cra'ster presumably plotted the trenches from the south wall using her version of the 1850 church plan. If her plan is corrected with this assumption, the alignment of Wall 1 is Roman (Fig 2). The wall then could be interpreted as the north wall of the forum. This would have been a solid wall with a colonnaded portico to north of it about 15 feet wide. The portico colonnade was found *c.* 1907 (above, **VII**)—the columns were the same diameter as the columns of the east range.[30]

The other potentially Roman wall is 'layer 8' (Fig 4). It ran approximately on a north south Roman alignment and was composed of 'sandy mortar with stones' and had straight edges 'as though it was a foundation'.[31] However, if this is wall foundation it was built from the same level as the robbing. It must, in fact, be the robbing of

[30] Hurst '1st interim', 24–69, at 57, 58.
[31] Cra'ster, 'St Michael's', 66.

a Roman wall, termed here Wall 8. Like Wall 1, it must have been built from a lower level not reached by excavation (Fig 4, Section XY; Fig 5, Section IVE). Wall 8, as Hurst pointed out,[32] aligns with the stylobate wall of the eastern range of the forum (Fig 10.1). (Because it runs north-south the alignment of Wall 8 is not affected by the adjustment mentioned in the preceding paragraph.)

The site borehole encountered lias clay at 42 feet AOD (Fig 4). Natural orange gravel usually appears above the lias clay. Under layer 12 in the borehole was 'sand and pebbles' (p. 73) interpreted as natural gravel, but below it were deposits of organic material, so 'layer 12' here must be redeposited. The borehole could have encountered a large pit or well of prehistoric or Roman date, cut down into the natural soil.

South of the east-west street (Fig 4, section XY) layer 12 could represent the latest Roman surface of the forum portico. It is true that the surface appears to cover the expected position of the wall behind the portico; however this may be because the base survey at St Michael's is unreliable. Alternatively, layer 12 could represent a sub-Roman metalling equivalent to period 3E at 1 Westgate Street (**II** above).

The 1956 excavation encountered in all trenches a layer of 'pale grey silt' (**SM2**) above 'layer 12'. There was a silt above the forum courtyard apparently representing abandonment after the dismantling of the forum.[33] There was also 'sterile silt' above the late-Roman metalling at 1 Westgate Street. The silt in all cases may represent a period of abandonment.

Layer 12 south of the east-west street (Fig 7, section IIE) is about the right height to be the makeup or floor surface of the north portico of the forum. (The south stylobate of the east-west street is positioned in the area of the pre-1850 south aisle church wall, so was not reached by the excavation.) Layer 12 on the line of the east-west street may represent the latest street metalling.

A layer 12 is drawn under the medieval S aisle wall at 55 feet AOD (Section DS),[34] an abrupt rise for which there seems no explanation. Perhaps this is a redeposited layer, or perhaps there is an error in the levels.

In the very northernmost part of the site, within the church footprint north of the Roman EW street (Fig 7) layer 12 extends for 25 feet north of the supposed stylobate position without interruption and disappears under the north wall. It is surprising that there are no surviving Roman walls here (see Fig 1 to compare the west side of the north-south street). Either walls have been covered by sub-Roman metalling, as was the case at 1 Westgate Street, or more likely any Roman walls are under the north walls of the church.

In section DS, layer 12 is cut by a silt-filled feature termed Feature WW which could be the late Roman streetside ditch.

Medieval topography and deposits

The stratigraphy inside and outside the church is very different, which is not surprising since they have a very different topographic history. The area outside (south of) the church would have been Roman street, followed by medieval tenement tail, followed after 1366 by burial ground: most of the area inside the church has probably

[32] Hurst '1st Interim' 1972, 58.

[33] Hurst '1st Interim' 1972, 58.

[34] Cra'ster, 'St Michael's', 65, fig. 5; not illustrated here but shown diagrammatically on Fig 7.

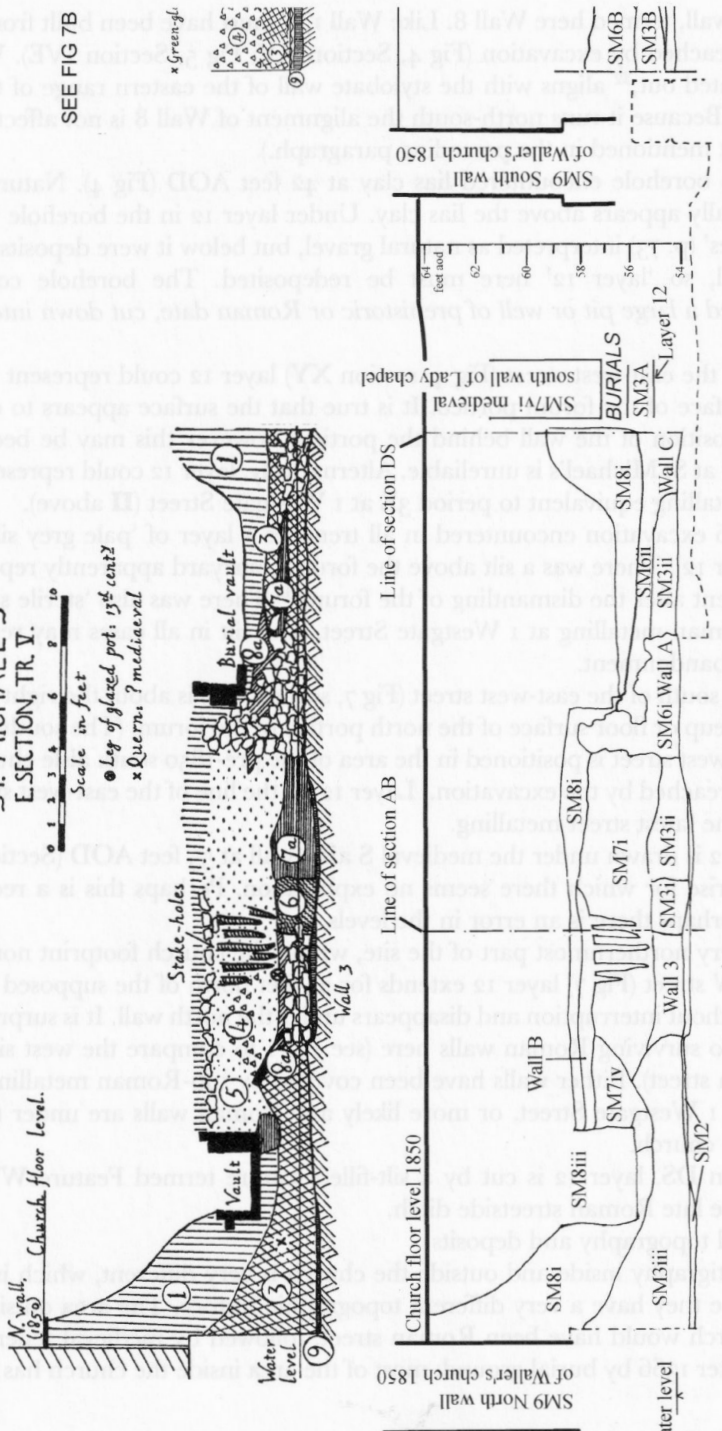


Fig 7a. Inside the church: Cra'ster sections VE and IIE and interpretation

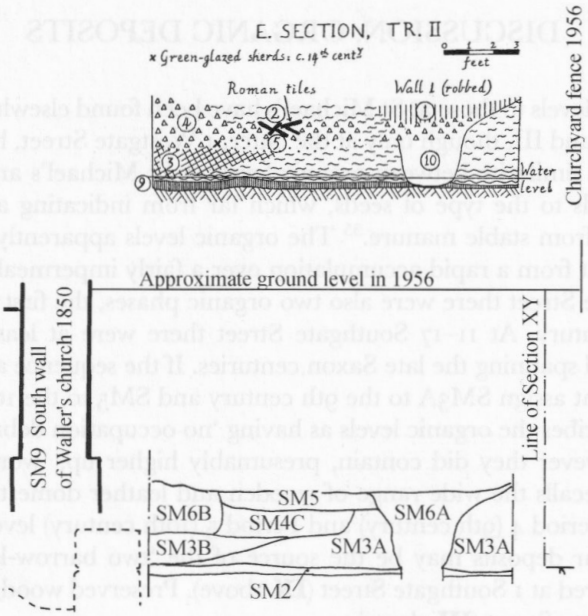


Fig 7b. The section line shown in Fig 7a extended to the south.

been occupied by a church building from the tenth century. The evidence from the two areas is therefore considered separately. The only layer common to both areas is the silt above 'layer 12', **SM2**.

Deposits outside the church: Anglo-Saxon (Figs 4–7)

SM3A

A deposit of black peaty organic material overlay SM2.

SM 3B

This was dark brown soil which may represent decayed organic material (Fig 7, Section IIE). A similar layer (see SM 3iii) was present inside the church.

SM4B

A pit was dug against Wall 8 before the latter was robbed.

SM 4C

A layer of rubble or metalling coincided with the robbing of Wall 8 (section XY, Fig 4) and with some lowering of Wall 1 (Section IVE and IVW, Figs 5 and 6).

SM5

A second phase of organic deposition took place.

DISCUSSION: ORGANIC DEPOSITS

Similar organic levels to those at St Michael's have been found elsewhere in the forum area (above, II; and III, though only at the latter, 1 Westgate Street, has analysis been published). The similarity between organic levels at St Michael's and at 1 Westgate Street (I) extends to the type of seeds, which far from indicating a bog are arable refuse deriving from stable manure.[35] The organic levels apparently result not from waterlogging but from a rapid accumulation over a fairly impermeable surface.[36]

At 1 Westgate Street there were also two organic phases, the first 9th century, the second 10th century. At 11–17 Southgate Street there were at least two phases of organic material spanning the late Saxon centuries. If the sequence at St Michael's is similar, we might assign SM3A to the 9th century and SM5 to the 10th-11th.

Cra'ster describes the organic levels as having 'no occupation debris in the bottom two feet':[37] however they did contain, presumably higher up, 'worked and shaped wood'.[38] This recalls the wide range of wooden and leather domestic objects recovered from the Period 4 (9th century) and Period 5 (10th century) levels at 1 Westgate Street [39]. Similar deposits may be the source of the 'two barrow-loads of saddlers leather' discovered at 1 Southgate Street (**IX** above). Preserved wood was also present at 11–17 Southgate Street (**III** above).

The deposits at 1 Westgate Street derived from stable sweepings and manure –were the surviving forum walls there being used as a cattle compound? At St Michael's, Roman Wall 8 and its columns must have been visible throughout **SM3A**, since it was locatable for robbing in **SM4C** (Section XY, Fig 4). Other columns, as seemed to be the case at Hunter's excavation, may have survived longer. Roman wall 1, the north wall of the forum forecourt, seems to have undergone two phases of robbing. Section IVW (Fig 6) indicates that the wall was reduced roughly to then ground level in phase **SM4C**; but section IVE (Fig 5) indicates that the south face of the wall was standing but damaged in phase **SM5**. Further west in trench II (Section IIE Fig 7) the wall and its foundations were removed altogether in phase **SM6A**.

Deposits outside the church: medieval (Fig 9)
SM6B (Fig 7)
A rubble-filled pit contained sherds of green-glazed pottery. This rubble layer actually looks like part of **SM4C**: this would provide a late medieval date for the second phase of organic (a point which puzzled Baker and Holt[40]). This is highly unlikely—this area was graveyard by that time—and the situation can be interpreted as a pit or grave of medieval date cutting into the organic deposits.

[35] Cra'ster, 'St Michael's', 74; Frank Green, in Heighway, Garrod and Vince, 186–190.
[36] Leo Biek in Heighway, Garrod and Vince, 210.
[37] Cra'ster, 'St Michael's', 64.
[38] Cra'ster, 'St Michael's', 66.
[39] Morris in Heighway, Garrod and Vince, 197–201.
[40] Baker and Holt, *Urban Growth*, 170.

SM6C *(Section IVW, Fig 6)*
Wall 2 appears to be cut from above SM5. A tumble of stones apparently from Wall 2 in the organic layer SM5 is probably intrusive– the organic layers are very plastic— or they could even result from the section not being cleaned after machining. Wall 2 appears to be a rectangular structure about 6 feet wide. The churchyard was created only in 1350: before that, this was the rear of a tenement and Wall 2 may represent a workshop or even a cess pit.

Deposits inside the 1850 church (Figs 7 and 8)
Information relies on two long intersecting sections VE (Fig 7) and AB (Fig 8). The following deposits were laid over SM2, the post-Roman silt.

SM3iii (Fig 7)
Within the church, in the nave area, was an accumulation of 'hard dark brown' material (SM3iii: Fig 7). It is known from excavations and observations at 11–17 Southgate Street (III above) that the peaty organic layers were not ubiquitous: they could be replaced by a grey loam, or by a 'compact brown organic' deposit thought to be late Saxon. SM 3iii therefore possibly represents organic material which for unknown reasons is less well preserved.

Structure XX—SM3i, 3ii (Fig 7)
A structure termed Structure XX had a clay floor (SM3ii) and a sand-filled feature with vertical sides which may represent a robbed or rotted sill beam (SM3i). The floor of Structure XX (SM3ii) was of red clay. The southern limit of Structure XX may have been on the line of Wall C, 20 feet to the south, since the red clay floor ceases somewhere on the line of wall C. South of Wall C the deposits are completely different at this level and consisted of the gravel, layer 12, at a higher level than usual, topped by the sticky organic of SM3A and medieval burials. There was thus a boundary on the line of Wall C (Fig 7) which may mark the southern limit of Structure XX.

Structure XX incorporates in its floors some of the 'hard dark brown' material so presumably post-dates SM3iii. Hurst's Period 7 and 8 buildings had clay floors (III above). Perhaps Structure XX is of similar date, but predating **SM4i**.

The structure is shown as resting on the silt **SM2**. It is possible that the silt was wrongly drawn and was in fact laid against the Structure, in which case this could be a very late Roman structure similar to building at 1 Westgate Street. But it seems preferable to accept the section as recorded.

Wall 3—SM4i
Wall 3 cut through the organic layers and through Structure XX. There are no surviving floors or building levels associated with Wall 3, which consists only of a truncated foundation.

Wall 3 is interpreted as a wall of the first church. It cut the 'dark brown layer' SM 3iii, which may be 9th-10th century (see above). Outside the church the phase of building activity **SM4C** might be 10th century (above p 00); this derives from the construction/re-use of stone buildings and could be associated with Wall 3.

SM6i

Wall A was described, like Wall C, as 'little more than a pile of stones'[41] but the section (Fig 7) shows an unmistakable wall foundation profile (perhaps unmortared?). Wall A is part-covered by SM6ii, which is several feet AOD below the bottom of the footing of the south Lady chapel wall[42] (Fig 7), a wall which on documentary evidence (below p 00) was built in the 14th century. Wall A must therefore have been destroyed before the 14th century. At the time of its building, if our interpretation of the building sequence is correct, it would have been external to the church. It may (like Wall C to which similar arguments apply) be a domestic structure belonging to tenement 12 (as interpreted on Fig 9). Alternatively it may represent the south boundary wall of church land or even a small priests' vestry.

Wall A could be interpreted as having been built much later from *above* the levelling SM7i but this would make it, in terms of the sequence, a wall internal to the 14th-century Lady chapel which makes little sense.

SM6ii (Fig 7)

Wall A and Wall C were superseded. Wall C was covered by clay floors and a yellow sandy gravel.

If Walls A and C were external to the church, as suggested above, then the clay and gravel could represent domestic floors of tail-of-plot structures belonging to tenements 12 and 13 (Fig 9).

SM7i (Figs 7 and 8)

This phase represents a major episode of levelling: Wall 3 was cut down to a low level and a platform created of grey sandy material with some rubble (layers 4 and 5 in sections VE and AB). In this deposit, above Wall 3, was the leg of a glazed pot, so phase **7i** is 13th-century or later.

The levelling may have been part of the Lady chapel construction, carried out for the purpose of raising the Lady chapel to the level of the nave floor. At the time the nave floors would have been much higher than ground outside (the undisturbed layer **SM3iii** in the nave is at 59 ft AOD so floors over it, which have not survived, must have been higher still).

Floors—SM7ii (Fig 8)

There seems to have been an episode of floor-laying using red clay (Fig 8)

Feature ZZ—SM7iii (Fig 8)

A substantial feature in section AB has been named Feature ZZ. The profile (although it should be noted that the sides are actually section edges, not true sides) could be that of a robbed wall. If it is a Roman wall, wrongly shown in the section as sitting on layer 12, then it survived to the late medieval period inside the church, which seems very unlikely. However, the fill, of black silt and grey clay, does not suggest the robbing of a wall: indeed one wonders where such deposits can have come from. It is short for a

[41] Cra'ster, 'St Michael's', 64.

[42] Cra'ster's section DS: see Cra'ster, 'St Michael's', 65.

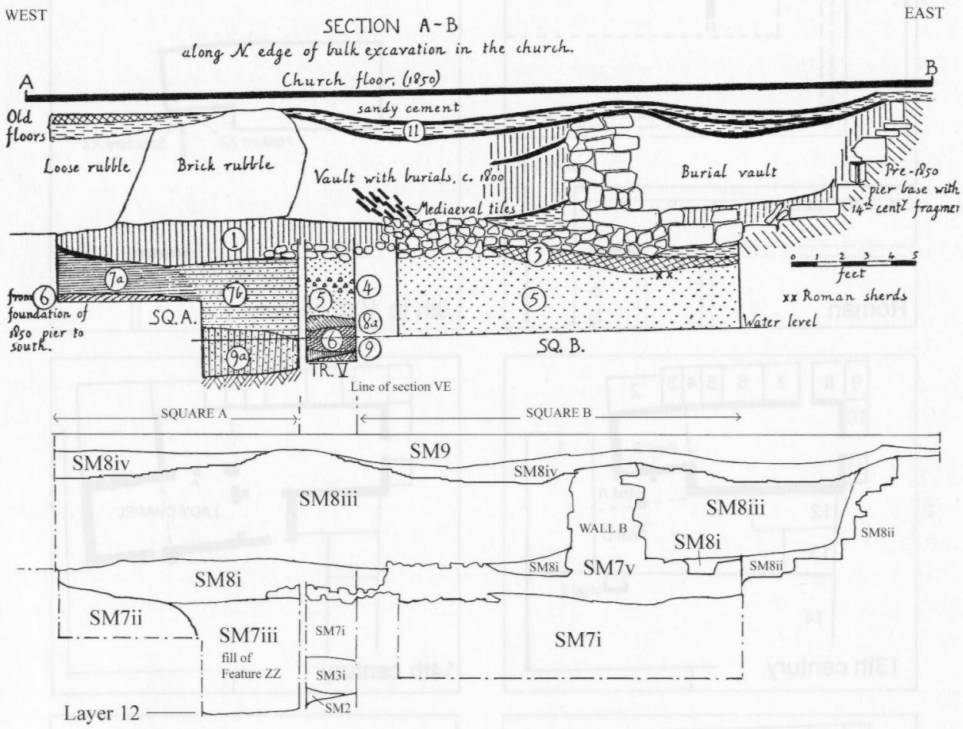


Fig 8. Inside the church: Cra'ster section VE and interpretation

grave, though perhaps it is in slightly oblique section. It was dug from above SM7i and SM7ii so at a late medieval date.

SM7iv (Fig 7)
This pit is of unknown purpose.

Wall B—SM7v (Fig 7 and 8)
Wall B appears as a substantial wall foundation in section AB, where it is in oblique section. The fact that the wall survival dwindles from east to west may indicate that it was on a slight alignment to the section, in other words that it had the slightly oblique alignment held by the southern part of the church in the middle ages. In section VE (Fig 7) a west-east section of the wall was built on wooden piles, and the wall also extended (though much reduced, either because in section or because cut by later features) some feet to the north. Wall B can be interpreted as foundation for an east west aisle sleeper wall, with a foundation for a rood screen or cross wall extending north-south. It must date to well after the 13th century judging by the pottery in SM7i already mentioned, and is likely, since it is late in the sequence to be late medieval or even early post-medieval.

Wall B could be the foundation of the north wall of the 14th century Lady chapel, a rebuilding of the south wall of the original chancel, or it could represent one of the later modifications to the same wall.

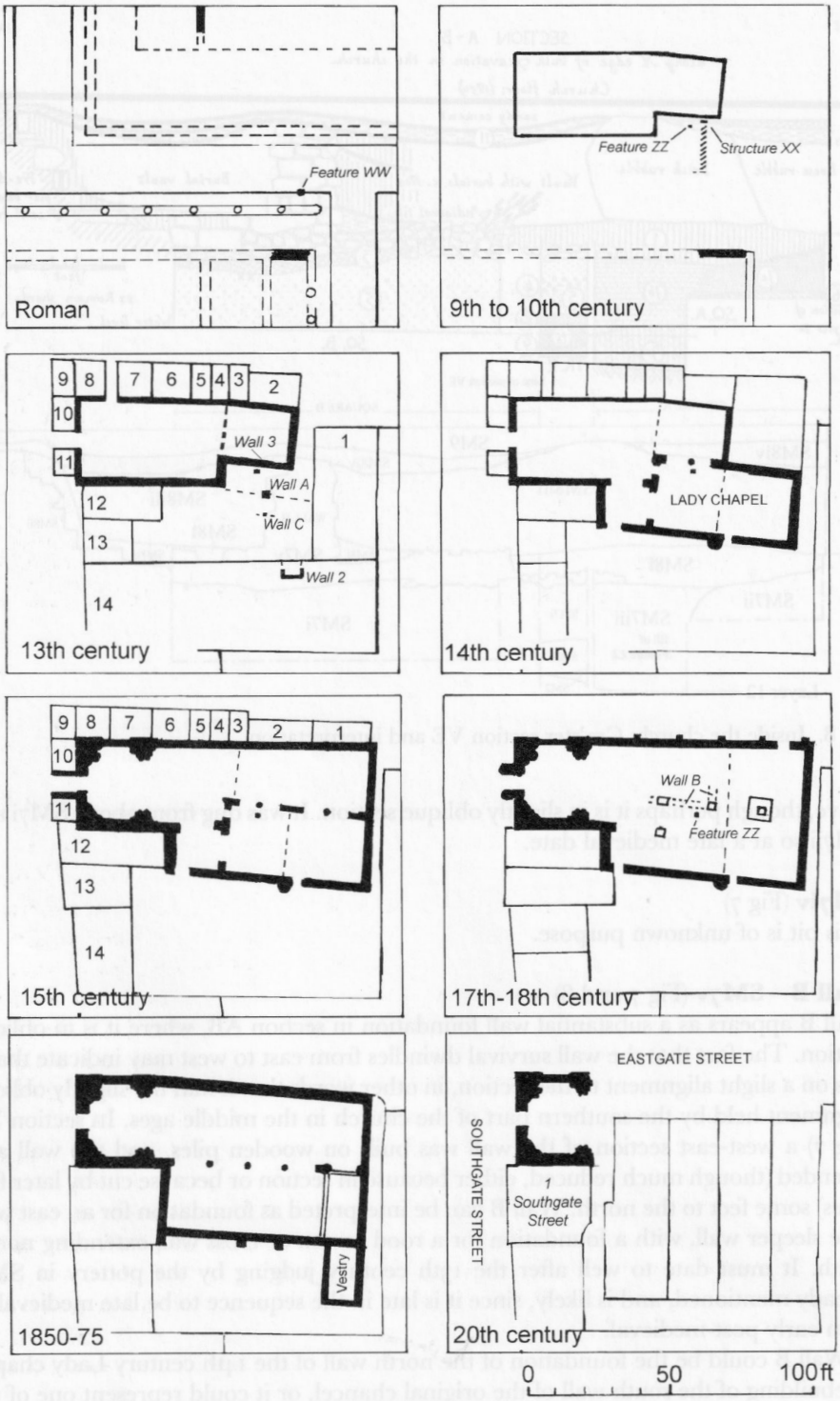


Fig 9. Conjectural development plan of the site of St Michael's church

Lady chapel north wall—SM7vi (Fig 7)
Though not excavated, the south church wall is known from documentary evidence to have been constructed in 1321 as part of the new Lady chapel (below, p 00).

Internal burials—SM8i (Fig 7 and 8)
Though burial outside only began *c.* 1366, burials inside the church may have begun in the 13th century.

Pier base—SM8ii (Fig 8)
An eastern pier base was renewed making use of re-used 14th century worked stone: the trench for the pier-base was partly backfilled with redeposited burial soil. The occasion for this new pier may have been the rebuilding of the south arcade in 1653 or else the rebuilding of 1790 (below p 00).

Vaults—SM8iii (Fig 7 and 8)
There is a number of vaults, presumably 18th-19th century in date. Burial in the church and churchyard ceased in 1850.

Floors—SM8iv (Fig 8)
Post-medieval church floor levels survived under the 1850 floor.

Waller's church—SM9 (Fig 7)
Waller's church was built 1850; a vestry was added in 1875. It was demolished in 1956.

ROMAN AND EARLY MEDIEVAL PERIODS: CONCLUSIONS

It has to be said that the process of analysing the excavation did not in itself add a great deal to the information available. The sections were useful in providing sequence, but the trenching was just too limited in extent. The reason for Cra'ster's failure to find Roman buildings is clear now that we have the benefit of many decades of subsequent archaeological research: the 1956 excavation encountered three roads taking up much of the area , and the porticos fronting them probably had gravel surfaces, rather than mosaics or walls which might have been more easily recognised. Furthermore the relationship of the streets to the church plan meant that the major Roman street frontages were under the church walls.

The anticipation at the outset of this project was that the evidence would indicate that a late Roman metalling, like that of Period 3E at 1 Westgate Street, had played an important part in the development of the area around St Michael's church. At 1 Westgate Street, the metalling covered late Roman street and buildings and was probably instrumental in extending (in effect) the forum area to the north, so that the Roman east-west street became redundant and the line of the street shifted north to be defined by the row of Roman columns (possibly a temple portico). If the metalling existed at St Michael's, it was under the nave of the church, north of Wall 3. Yet this would be to assume that Cra'ster misread the evidence completely, mistaking a good, well laid metalling for natural gravel. Even with waterlogging, such an error seems

rather unlikely. It is more probable that the lack of Roman walls was simply a result of the fact that the return walls of a building to the north were under the northern church walls, and that the nave of the church occupied, in Roman terms, a courtyard space floored with redeposited natural gravel which was not far above the natural.

The earliest building, Structure XX, possibly late 9th century, was perhaps a market building or even an early chapel. There was some stone-building activity in the 10th century, which might have included Wall 3, which has been interpreted as part of the chancel of the church. Though it might be the south wall of a nave rather than a chancel, the present interpretation (Fig 9) fits well with the plan development of the chancel reconstructed from documents. In either case, equivalent walls to the north must have been under the church's north walls.

LATER MEDIEVAL AND POST-MEDIEVAL PERIODS: THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHURCH PLAN

by J F Rhodes

The following discussion is based on the recorded plan (Fig. 3), on views of the church *c.*1790 by Thomas Bonnor[43] (Fig 10) and on the documents cited. Tenements around the church are numbered as in the sketch-plans (Fig. 9).

12th and 13th centuries

The boundary between the main chancel, which belonged to the rector, and the rest of the church, which belonged to the parishioners, is unlikely to have changed in the medieval or early modern periods. Although the parishioners could pierce or rebuild the south wall of the chancel (for instance by rebuilding Wall 3 as Wall B) they could not realign it unless the rector altered his roof, a roof which in 1669 he forbade them even to repair.[44] In the 16th century tenements 1 and 2 were said to lie under the chancel wall and to be 43 ft 2 in long.[45] Consequently the south end of the medieval chancel screen was at or near the westernmost of the central pillars shown in the plan. Bonnor shows that the low roof of the chancel ended there against the high roof of the nave, which rose to a ridge on the centre line of the 15th-century tower as attested by a crease in the surviving masonry; Bonnor also shows that the south gutter of the chancel roof ran above the line of pillars, which therefore represents the original line of the south chancel wall. Originally, however, the chancel did not extend so far east, because the site of the later east end was not acquired until 1321 as discussed below. The axis of the chancel was offset from that of the nave and differently orientated.

14th century

In 1321 Andrew of Pendock was licensed to alienate to the rector a messuage adjoining the church for rebuilding as a Lady chapel.[46] Pendock's property was in Eastgate

[43] In T D Fosbrooke, *Original History of Gloucester* (London 1819, folio edn), pl opp p 176.

[44] Glos Record Office (hereafter Glos R O), P154/14/CW2/2, 1669.

[45] Glos R O, GBR/F4/3, f 3; P154/14/CH4/9.

[46] *Calendar of Patent Rolls* 1321–4, 21. The rector was evidently acting as trustee of the chapel, since its property was later held by lay proctors.

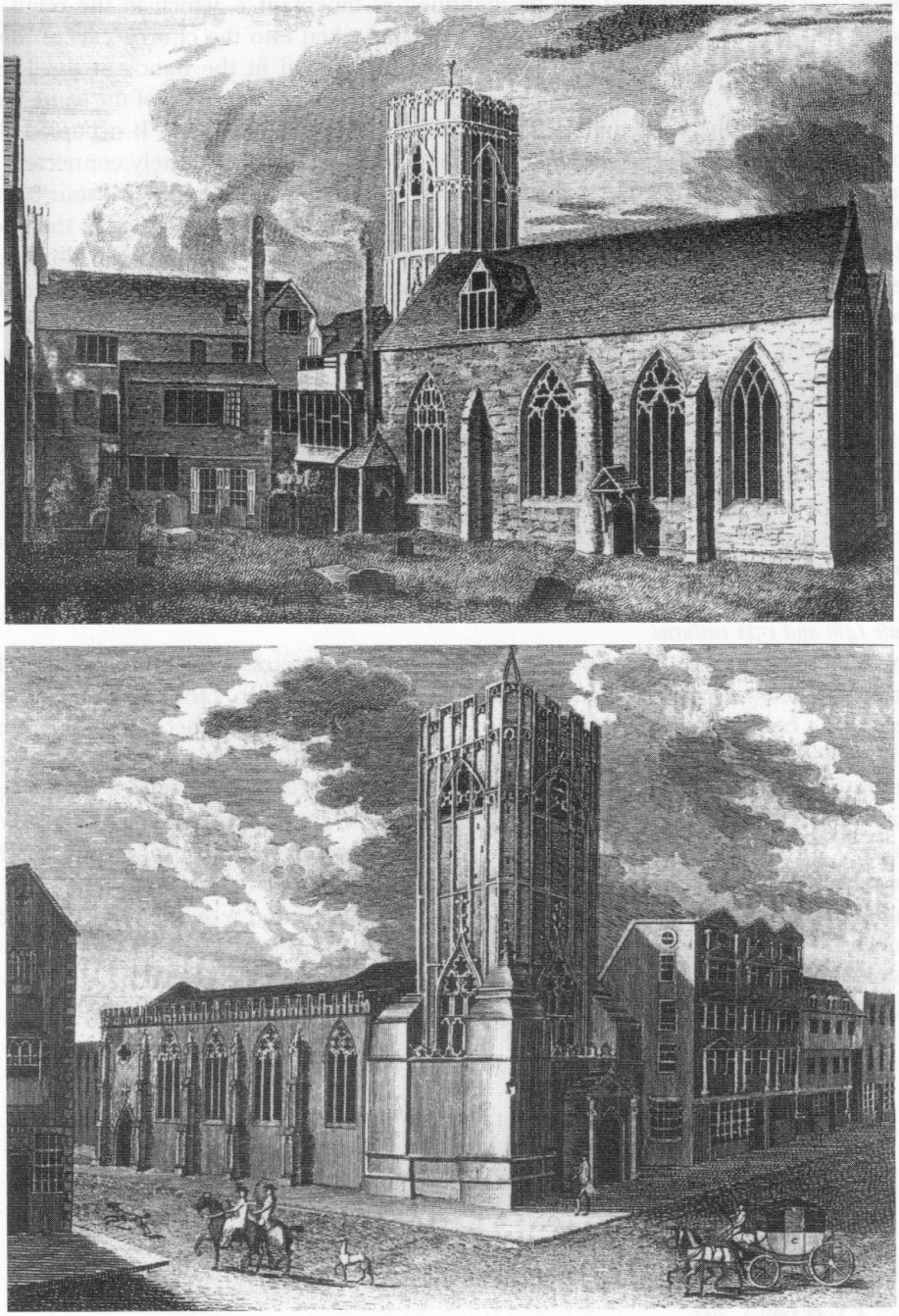


Fig 10. Bonnor's engravings of the church of St Michael. (a) from the north-west showing buttresses and tower casing inserted by Ricketts in 1775–7, (b) from the south c. 1790; the gable ends of Lady chapel and chancel are just visible on the right. The central two windows of the south aisle/Lady chapel are the same design as those of the south aisle of the Cathedral (c. 1318). There is a porch and door just east of the stair turret.

Street.[47] The land acquired can be identified as tenement 1, which in the reign of Edward II belonged to Robert Pope; it was later taken into the church except for a residue on the Eastgate street frontage which remained in the hands of the Lady chapel proctors.[48] The Lady chapel, as Bonnor shows, had windows of the same pattern as those in the contemporary south aisle of Gloucester Abbey. It occupied the south-east angle between the nave and the chancel and was ultimately connected to the nave by a short aisle under the same roof. Unusually, it also had a low stair turret two bays from the east end. This suggests that the parish rood was erected in the middle of the chapel instead of over the chancel screen, that the service of St. Mary was celebrated at the east end and that the west end of the new building was reserved for worship of the rood and for altars and screened chapels of other parochial chantries.[49] Alternatively the rood loft may have been a later insertion spanning the full width of the church.

About 1366 land was acquired for a churchyard.[50] This was the tail of tenement 14, which in the reign of Edward II had belonged to Richard of Churchdown; the residue of the tenement on the Southgate Street frontage remained in the hands of the Lady chapel proctors.[51] Later, in 1652, the occupiers of tenements 13 and 14 made encroachments 6 ft. wide into the churchyard for which leases were granted to them in 1654 and renewed in 1706.[52]

Late 14th and 15th centuries

In 1392 the chancel was reconsecrated.[53] This evidently marks its extension eastwards, on a trapezoidal plan, to line up with the Lady chapel. In 1401 the parishioners received a bequest for a (west) tower but were unable to proceed because of litigation with Llanthony Priory over the abutting tenements 9 and 10.[54] A tower was desirable not only to the parish but also to the borough, as a location for the curfew bell which had been tolled at the church since 1393 and for a chiming clock which is attested from 1546. In 1455–72 the parishioners built the tower within the footprint of the nave.[55] At the same time they acquired from Hailes Abbey the abutting tenement 7, united it with tenement 8 belonging to their Lady chapel and rebuilt both to front the north side of the tower as a single tenement, which they mortgaged in 1472 and let to John Shotewell, hardwareman, in 1475.[56] Although the Lady chapel's interest passed in 1549 to Anthony Bourchier, that tenement remained united and in 1715 was said

[47] Glos R O, P154/14/CH2/10, 12.

[48] *Rental of Houses in Gloucester A D 1455*, ed W H Stevenson (Gloucester 1890), 100b.

[49] For other altars and chapels cf *V C H Glos* 4, 306–7.

[50] Glos R O, P154/14/CH3/1.

[51] *Rental of Gloucester 1455*, 4b.

[52] Glos. R.O. P154/14/CW2/2, 1652; CW2/3, pp 163–4; P154/14/CH4/18, 19.

[53] *V C H Glos* 4, 307.

[54] Ibid.; P.R.O. C 115/76, ff 15, 20, 75, 104.

[55] *V C H Glos* 4, 306–8. The borough had tried and failed to build a clock tower in 1371 on the site of St Martin's chapel on the opposite side of the carfax, and paid towards a dial on St Michael's tower in 1612: ibid.

[56] Glos R O, P154/14/CH4/1–2; cf *Rental of Gloucester 1455*, 103b.

to be 3½ stories high with a cellar below.[57] A west porch, adjoining the tower, was rented in 1564–71 by Richard Astell, cardmaker.[58] A room over the porch was rented successively in 1616–38 by Robert Rowles and by Mrs. and William Bubb;[59] in 1662 Toby Langford, stationer, was allowed to unite it with his adjacent tenements 9–11 to form a single tenement fronting all the west side of the tower.[60] In 1734 the room over the porch was let to Roland Pytt, ironmonger, with the ground below it (i.e. permission to construct a cellar) 8 ft wide.[61]

17th century

In 1611 a *doore or porche* was built for £12 17s 3d to give access from the street to the chancel through tenement 1.[62] In 1648 St. Michael's parish was united with those of St.Aldate and St. Mary de Grace,[63] and in 1653 the church was gutted; materials from the other two churches were used to build what were later described as *four huge fluted pilasters of the Ionic order, arranged in a kind of triangle*, and earlier arcade piers were taken out. The roofs were tied with cramps but were not renewed, indeed the roof of the rector's chancel needed recladding only 15 years later.[64] Thus the church became a preaching auditorium for parishioners of the three parishes, with pews filling what in 1703–4 were called *the parson's chancell, the parish chancell* (i.e. the former Lady chapel), *the south ile* and *the west end.*[65] One of the pilasters, more correctly called a pillar, was rebuilt in 1790 by Thomas Cowles for £31 10s.[66]

18th century

In 1736 the *east end and window of the south ile* were rebuilt by William Cleveley, mason.[67] The description shows that by then the parish chancel at the east end of the aisle had lost its separate identity.

In 1750 improvement commissioners were established by act of Parliament to buy and demolish the tenements flanking the north and west sides of the church.[68] They exercised their powers belatedly in 1774–7 when they purchased tenement 7. As demolition proceeded in 1775–7 the parishioners engaged John Ricketts to rebuild the church wall and repair the tower for £440.[69] To Ricketts, therefore, may be attributed all or most of the doorway, windows and buttresses shown by Bonnor on the

[57] *Cal Pat* 1547–8, 329; Glos R O, GBR/J5/5; GBR/F4/3, f 3v; P154/14/CH4/6, 11, 30; P154/14/CH5.

[58] Glos R O, P154/CW1/17–24.

[59] Glos R O, P154/14/CW2/1.

[60] Glos R O, P154/14/CW2/3, p 392; cf GBR/J3/3, f 103v; abuttals in P154/14/CH4/6, 11; CH5, 1653.

[61] Glos R O, P154/14/CH4/22.

[62] Glos R O, P154/14/CW2/1, 1611; cf P154/14/CH4/15.

[63] *V C H Glos* 4, 293.

[64] Glos R O, P154/CW2/2, 1653–4, 1669–70; NR 5.9.

[65] Glos R O, P154/14/CW2/3, pp 143, 149.

[66] Glos R O, P154/14/VE2/1, pp 194, 196; P154/14/CW2/4, 1795.

[67] Glos R O, P154/14/CW2/3, pp 386, 405–6.

[68] Gloucester Improvement Act, 23 Geo III c 15.

[69] Glos R O, P154/14/VE2/1, pp 81, 85; P154/14/CW2/4, 1777.

north side of the church,[70] together with the offsets, plinths, string-courses, parapets and buttresses which now articulate the lowest stage of the tower on the north and west.

CONCLUSIONS

This project has been, for an archaeologist, a sobering reminder of the importance for the medieval period of examining leases and other documents. Archaeology alone can gain information about the Roman and early post-Roman periods, but without documents little in this instance would have been learned about the development of the church.

A point which remains unsolved is the reason for the anomalous and dual alignment of the church, the north wall being on that of the Roman streets, the south aisle/lady chapel on a more oblique alignment. Our interpretation suggests, but cannot prove, that the original church had a nave on the Roman alignment whose north wall and west end was retained throughout its history. The chancel end was angled to the south by several degrees. There may have been a residual feature, perhaps even a Roman one, which affected the chancel angle, but once established, the fact that the chancel was the rector's and so could not be altered without his permission, reinforced innate conservatism to ensure that the anomalous angle survived until 1850.

One certain conclusion from the lease evidence is that the tower footprint derived from the church's inception. Baker and Holt thought that the church was set back from the Southgate street frontage and that the western tower was a 15th-century addition to the church. As has been shown the shops or selds which stood outside the west door were on the same site both before and after the tower was built, and had a continuous existence from the 12th century. They were only temporarily removed when the new tower was built 1455 × 72. Indeed the present buttressed base of the tower is not medieval as hitherto supposed[71] but Georgian, replacing the screen of tenements from which the tower rose in the Middle Ages. The new tower was thus placed within the footprint of the medieval church which prior to 1455 occupied this key corner plot in the streetscape, and must have been a part of the church from its foundation for such a plot to be 'reserved'.

The tower position occupies exactly the Roman street corner. Baker and Holt established that the Anglo-Saxon *burh* was laid out on Roman Eastgate Street. They assumed that Roman Eastgate Street survived to the 10th century, with a 'dog leg' at the central crossroads. This is possible, though the archaeological evidence (**IV**, above) does imply that Eastgate Street, or at least its north side, had already shifted north by then. It is possible that both theories are correct—there seems no reason why the south side of the Roman street and the north side of the medieval one should not,

[70] Three-fifths of the north wall flanked what is described above as the rector's chancel, but the parishioners had undertaken in 1749 to pay half the cost of repairing that part of the building (P154/14/VE2/1) and later ceased to recognise the rector's responsibility there, indeed *c.* 1849 the church was said not to possess a chancel: Glos R O, D2593/2/89, Report to Church Building Society.

[71] D Verey and A Brooks, *Buildings of England: Glos* 2 (New Haven 2002), 455.

c. 900, have had between them an open space into which the church was placed. However, the precise fit of the church into the Roman street corner does need explaining, and it is likely that the line of the Roman street had been preserved by Roman relict features of some kind, perhaps one or two columns, and that these features were the point to which the new streets were measured and to which the new church was laid out. This would explain both the neat fit of the 15th century tower into the Roman street plan, and the fact that the mensuration of the Saxon *burh* is centred on the Roman, not the medieval, crossroads. Baker and Holt probably described the situation accurately in suggesting that St Michael's church had its origins 'as an architectural cornerpost'.[72]

APPENDIX: 15TH AND 16TH CENTURY OWNERS AND DIMENSIONS OF TENEMENTS ABUTTING THE CHURCH

Owners are from *Rental of Houses in Gloucester A D 1455*, ed W H Stevenson (Gloucester, 1890), 2b–4b, 100b–102b, and from Rhodes's forthcoming edition of the terrier of Llanthony Priory. Frontages are given before depths.

1, 2. St Mary's service in St. Michael, later Gloucester borough, 43 ft 2 in by 9 ft 2 in: Glos R O, P154/14/CH4/9.
3. Gloucester Abbey, later dean and chapter, 7 ft 8 in by 12 ft 3 in: Glouc Cath Libr, Reg Malvern 2, f 6v no 14.
4. St John's service in St Michael, later Richard Pate and Thomas Chamberlayne.
5. Llanthony Priory and St Mary's service in St Nicholas, later Pate and Chamberlayne.
6. Llanthony Priory, later Sir Thomas Bell, 13 ft 10 in by 12 ft 3 in: P R O, C 115/78, f. 6v.
7. Hailes Abbey, later St Michael's feoffees.
8. St Mary's service in St Michael, later Anthony Bourchier.
9. Llanthony Priory, later Sir Thomas Bell, 11 ft 9 in by 8 ft: P R O, C 115/84, ff 36–7 nos 112–3.
10. Llanthony Priory, later Sir Thomas Bell.
11. Gloucester borough, 6 ft 9 in by 7 ft 6 in, later 10 ft 6 in square: Glos R O, GBR/F4/3, f. 11v; J3/3, f. 103v.
12. John Limerick, later All Saints' proctors, 10 ft wide: Glos R O, GBR/F4/3, f 11v.
13. Hailes Abbey, later Agnes Semys, 19 ft 3 in wide: ibid.
14. St Mary's service in St Michael, later Anthony Bourchier, 30 ft 5 in wide: ibid.

[72] Baker and Holt, *Urban Growth*, 70.

XIV

Frederick Lygon, 6th Earl Beauchamp: Victorian landowner and patron in Gloucestershire

JOHN JURICA

INTRODUCTION

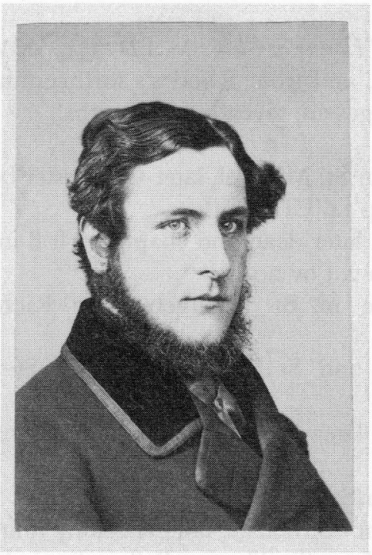


Fig. 1. Frederick Lygon, 6th Earl Beauchamp (1830–91), *c.*1866–8 by John Watkins: © National Portrait Gallery, London.

FREDERICK Lygon (Fig. 1) succeeded to the peerage on inheriting Madresfield Court and its extensive estates from his brother Henry, the 5th Earl Beauchamp, in 1866. The ancestral seat at Madresfield was situated near Great Malvern in Worcestershire and the estates included lands and farms in Kempley and Dymock in west Gloucestershire. Born in 1830, Frederick Lygon graduated from Christ Church, Oxford, in 1852 having, while an undergraduate, adopted Tractarian views. He remained a firm member of the Church of England until his death in 1891 and wrote a number of religious works, including an office book for the Church of England (*The Day Hours of the Church of England*) published anonymously in 1858. His interest in music had led him earlier to compile a hymnal for Madresfield church published in 1853.

He pursued a parliamentary career as a Conservative and his interest in education was manifested by his involvement in the founding of Malvern College and in the early years of Keble College, Oxford. His concerns for religion and education were also reflected on his estates, on which he built a number of chapels and schools, and at Madresfield he completed a rebuilding of the family seat that included the construction of a domestic chapel.[1]

Entries in the *Dictionary of National Biography* and its 2004 revision, the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, characterise the 6th earl's role as a landlord as conscientious and stress his High Churchmanship. This essay[2] looks at that role in Kempley and Dymock and assesses the impact that his religious views had in those rural backwaters. Clergy appointed by him stirred up hornets' nests of resistance as members of both farming communities, faced with a challenge to their traditional habits of religion, refused to acquiesce in High Church innovations. The struggle, evidence of conflicting currents of change and continuity in the later Victorian period, had no place in the accounts of the lives of the earl and of one of his clergy, W.C.E. Newbolt,[3] written for the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

The history of the Lygon family's estates is documented in the archives at Madresfield Court and elsewhere.[4] A reordering of the Madresfield archives taken in hand in 1916 was accompanied by the compilation of a full and accurate calendar of deeds, letters, court records, and estate papers by C.L. Kingsford and was followed by the printing in 1929 of a description of the archives together with an account of the Lygons and their estates.[5] The calendared documents remain at Madresfield Court, along with much other material including plans and architectural drawing, but a copy of the calendar, nineteen volumes in all, has been deposited in the Worcestershire record office[6] as have some document collections from Madresfield.[7] The story of the 6th Earl Beauchamp's positions and business in Kempley and Dymock in the later 19th century is also illustrated in parish records kept in the Gloucestershire record office (Gloucestershire Archives), which houses journals kept by several of the clergy he appointed to those places.[8]

LANDOWNERSHIP IN KEMPLEY AND DYMOCK

The estates inherited by Frederick Lygon in 1866 included the manor of Kempley, a small parish in north-west Gloucestershire on the boundary with Herefordshire. The

[1] *Oxford DNB*; *Victoria County History of Worcestershire*. IV, 121.

[2] The essay draws together the results of research undertaken by it author for histories of Kempley and Dymock to be published in the forthcoming volume of the Victoria County History (VCH) of Gloucestershire.

[3] For Newbolt in Dymock, see below, High Churchmanship in Kempley and Dymock.

[4] The author is grateful to Lady Morrison and the trustees of the Madresfield estate for allowing him access to the Madresfield archives.

[5] *The Madresfield Muniments* (Worcester, 1929).

[6] Worcestershire Record Office (WRO), 970.5: 99 (BA 892).

[7] For Gloucestershire deeds from Madresfield, see WRO, 705: 99 (BA 3375; BA 5540; BA 5489).

[8] Gloucestershire Archives (GA), P 125; P 188; D 5292.

manor had been in his family since 1682 when Reginald Pyndar bought it. Reginald moved with his family from Duffield in Derbyshire to take up residence in the early 17th-century manor house (the Stone House) and in 1689 his son Thomas Pyndar rebuilt the older manor house (Kempley Court) as his own dwelling. On the death of Thomas's widow Elizabeth in 1759[9] the manor passed to her grandson Reginald, the son of Reginald Pyndar (d. 1721) by Margaret Lygon (d. 1736)[10] who had changed his surname to Lygon on inheriting the Madresfield estate through his mother.[11] Frederick Lygon's inheritance in Dymock, Kempley's much larger eastern neighbour, included a few farms in the east of the parish added to the Madresfield estates by piecemeal purchases in the early 19th century, notably in 1810 Callow, Great Ketford, and Cut Mill farms.

In 1866 Frederick Lygon set about consolidating his estates by piecemeal purchases of neighbouring farms and nearby cottages, a process documented in numerous deeds kept at Madresfield Court. His first major acquisition in Kempley was the three farms there belonging to St. Katherine's hospital in Ledbury in 1869. It was followed by the purchase of large farms based on Bullocksend (Hill Brook Farm) in 1871 and Saycell's Farm in 1872 and with other smaller acquisitions the earl came to own virtually the whole parish. In Dymock his purchases comprised buildings in the village and land adjoining his property on the east side of the parish. The largest acquisition was the farm at Lintridge, near Bromsberrow Heath, in 1868.[12]

Frederick Lygon also financed a programme of new building on his land in the two parishes. Most of his buildings were given a datestone marked with the letter 'B' and many remain standing in the early 21st century. In Kempley in 1866 he immediately built a schoolroom. It stood near the centre of the parish some way north of Kempley Green, the main settlement in the parish.[13] The room accommodated a National school established the following year; its endowments included land in Much Marcle, a Herefordshire parish adjoining Kempley, that his ancestor Elizabeth Pyndar had given in 1755 to support the teaching of two Kempley children to read.[14]

Most of the new buildings were farmhouses, outbuildings such as barns, sheds, and stables, and cottages. At Friar's Court, the main farmstead on the land he purchased in Kempley in 1869, a new range of stables and cowsheds was built in 1870. New outbuildings at Saycell's Farm included a cider house and a cowshed. In Dymock a range of stables was built at Callow Farm in 1870 and a barn at Limetrees Farm, at Ryton, in 1877. New outbuildings were also erected at Lintridge.

The new farmhouses were in Kempley. The first was at Bullocksend where, on its acquisition in 1871, an entire new and taller dwelling was added on to the standing house, which was retained to accommodate on its ground floor a kitchen and a

[9] R. Bigland, *Historical, Monumental, and Genealogical Collections Relative to the County of Gloucester* (3 vols. 1791–1889), II, 119; Gloucester Diocesan Records (in Gloucestershire Archives), wills 1722/191.

[10] S. Rudder, *A New History of Gloucestershire* (Cirencester, 1779), 508; *The Madresfield Muniments*, 41, 63; *Burke's Peerage* (1963), 190.

[11] Madresfield Court Archives (MCA), F 5v, deed 1434.

[12] Ibid. H 6iv, bdl. 561, nos 79–80.

[13] OS Map 6", Glos. XVI. NE (1889 edn); datestone on building.

[14] Bigland, *Historical, Monumental, and Genealogical Collections*, II, 118.

dairy.[15] At the Stone House the early 17th-century manor house had been occupied as a farmhouse since the owner of Madresfield had acquired the manor in the mid 18th century. As a farmstead it served the largest farm on the Lygons' Kempley lands and Frederick Lygon built new outbuildings there in 1871. In 1883 he rebuilt the house almost completely, using some of its early fittings in the rebuilding of Madresfield Court. Of the pieces removed to Madresfield a wooden overmantel dated 1610 with the initials of Henry and Anne Finch stands in the Court's long gallery. Among the fittings left at the Stone House is an ornate ceiling of the mid or later 17th century, the period when Kempley manor belonged to the Howe family. Also in 1883 a new house was built at Hillfields Farm (then Print House Farm), the existing house there being converted a few years later as a store and cider mill,[16] and in 1884 the house at Brick House Farm at Fishpool was rebuilt.

Frederick Lygon also brought about changes in Dymock village. There, at the east end, the area between the churchyard and the village street to the south contained a very small green with the vicarage house on its west side and the Plough inn among buildings on its east side.[17] In 1877 the earl bought High House, a tall mid 18th-century house to the west of the churchyard, and, having remodelled it the following year to make it the vicarage house,[18] he shortly afterwards demolished the old vicarage, throwing part of its site in the garden of High House and adding the rest to the green.[19] Elsewhere in the village the datestone on Great Wadley records its purchase in 1884 by the earl.[20] The house is older, having been built together with the George inn soon after 1806 in the place of a building called Society Lodge, the first meeting place of a friendly society formed by Dymock tradesmen in 1789.[21]

As a landlord the earl's relationship with country people was conscientious and traditional. In 1872 to mark the birth of his first son he entertained his tenant farmers at Madresfield and organised a distribution of meat, bread, tea, sugar, and cash to lesser tenants in their parishes.[22] The relationship continued for a while after the earl's death in 1891. In 1893 when his eldest son, then the 7th earl, came of age, the estate's farmers and cottage tenants attended separate celebrations at Madresfield[23] and many of them subscribed to the presentation of a loving cup to the earl.[24] Trees were planted in both Dymock and Kempley to mark the coming of age; a plaque by the tree in Kempley still celebrates that event.

[15] MCA, E 6ii, plans for alterations at Bullocksend.

[16] Ibid. L 6i, 39, proposed alterations at Print House Farm 1886.

[17] GA, P 125A/SD 2/1–2 (nos 1514, 1516).

[18] Ibid. D 1381/54.

[19] MCA, J 2ii, bdl. 104, no 17; GA, P 125/IN 1/18; IN 4/21; OS Map 6", Glos. X.SW (1883 edn).

[20] MCA, J 3vii, bdl. 111D, nos 25–39; bdl. 111E, nos 40–3.

[21] Rules & Orders to be observed by an Amicable Society of Tradesmen & Others in Dymock (1800: copy in Gloucestershire Collection R 116.1). The collection (Glos. Colln.) is kept at Gloucestershire Archives.

[22] GA, P 125/IN 4/19.

[23] Ibid. D 5292, 1 and 3 Aug. 1893.

[24] MCA, P 1, no 4.

RELIGION AND THE OXFORD MOVEMENT IN WEST GLOUCESTERSHIRE

The story of rural Victorian religion encompasses much more than the restoration of, and other interventions concerning, medieval parish churches. Nonconformity, sometimes new beliefs, touched village life almost without exception and even if it has left little physical evidence its presence was not ephemeral. Of all the strands that made up the Church of England the Oxford Movement was a High Church movement that from the early 1830s sought to recapture, as it saw it, the Catholic inheritance of the English Church. Its impact on religious life and practice was immediate in places throughout England and continued for the rest of the Victorian era, working-class populations in the growing conurbations being notably susceptible to its messages. Its influence was broad, touching many aspects of religion and extending beyond the purpose of ritual and sacrament, and also music, in church services (its most frequent manifestations) to the role of the parish priest and of the church in village life.

By mid 19th century many medieval churches had been transformed, appearing more like 'preaching boxes', some even like nonconformist chapels, than places partly intended for the conduct of sacerdotal functions. Over the centuries since the Reformation medieval fabric had been removed or mutilated, window tracery had disappeared, and interiors had been crowded with pews and galleries. In places funerary monuments obscuring windows both in nave and chancel had been erected. The chancel had been relegated in importance in worship, the east altar being replaced by a communion table, and pride of place given to the pulpit, in places tall three decker structures. In some churches an east gallery turned inwards, facing into the nave from the chancel arch. Examples abound in Gloucestershire in general and in the west of the county in particular. At Littledean, on the fringes of the Forest of Dean, the parish church's nave contained east and west galleries and the pulpit stood midway down the nave with its back to the wall.[25] At Ruardean, also on the edge of the Forest, the church's pulpit had stood against the north wall of the nave since at least the 1720s.[26]

Although theirs was not the sole impetus for church restoration—the renewal of old fabric, the reinstatement of windows and tracery, and the removal of galleries and other interior accretions—the proponents of the Oxford Movement sought a much broader influence on church and village life. In practice their influence depended on individuals, most effectively on a patron or an incumbent, and varied from parish to parish. In places their impact was negligible. In other places the impact was most visible in the imposition of High Church practice, primarily the introduction of ritual to church services. At Prestbury, on the outskirts of Cheltenham, rituals introduced in the 1860s and 1870s by the vicar John Edwards (later Baghot-De la Bere) apparently had the support of many of his parishioners but incurred the wrath of Evangelicals in Cheltenham. There were a number of riots and the congregation had to be protected by the police.[27] Elsewhere, as at Ruardean in the 1840s and at Dymock and

[25] S.R. Glynne, *Gloucestershire Church Notes* (ed. W.P.W. Phillimore and J. Melland Hall, 1902), 63–4; undated plan in Littledean parish church (seen 18 May 1989).

[26] GA, P 275/CW 3/1.

[27] *VCH Glos.* VIII, 79.

Kempley later, the imposition of High Church practices was resisted by parishioners, representing as it did a jarring break with the past.

High Church sentiments and ideals were given physical expression in some of the new churches built in the period, notably at Holy Innocents, Highnam (1849–51), designed for Thomas Gambier Parry by Henry Woodyer.[28] This was only one of the churches built in west Gloucestershire in the mid 19th century, another Woodyer church being Holy Jesus, Lydbrook (1850–1), one of several brand new churches in the Forest of Dean.[29] A more flamboyant display was created later at St. John the Baptist, Huntley (1861–3) by S.S. Teulon for the Revd. Daniel Capper, who undertook an almost complete rebuilding of the medieval parish church.[30]

Highnam's consecration in 1851 was attended by nearly 100 clergy, 80 of them dressed in surplices and the rest in academic gowns. Francis Edward Witts, rector of the Cotswold parish of Upper Slaughter, near Stow-on-the-Wold, who was present, described a 'preponderance of High Church clergy' and noted that, although dress had been left an open question, the bishop had preferred the gown 'and wisely for the surplice is viewed as a symbol of ultra High Church or Puseyism, and in these days of dissention what offends the weak brethren had better be avoided'.[31]

Although Witts's record only hints at the opposition faced by the High Church party, even in Gloucestershire there is firm evidence of antipathy to High Church practice. Many of the examples concerned ritual and religious worship but High Churchmanship where it was imposed in its full rigour had a much wider impact on social and cultural life. At Ruardean, which has already been mentioned, the parish did not constitute a separate benefice until 1842. Before then it was a chapelry of Walford (Herefs.). Henry Formby, the first incumbent of the new benefice, which was initially in the gift of the precentor of Hereford cathedral, was a supporter of the Oxford Movement and so courted unpopularity with his parishioners. He resigned in 1845.[32] A graduate of Brasenose college, Oxford, then in his mid 20s,[33] Formby conducted himself with the zeal of a younger man, even contemplating the use of old Catholic hymns in church services. He went over to Rome soon after leaving Ruardean.[34] High Church ideals covered more than the format and content of worship and had ramifications for the treatment and use of churches. Thus at Ruardean Henry Formby refused to allow a friendly society to hold its anniversary service in the church on a Friday on the liturgical ground that Friday was a fast day. Rather than change the day of its celebrations the society processed to a service in a church outside the parish.[35] For his principles Formby fell foul of the law, being fined by magistrates in 1844 for removing voter and jury lists from the church door.[36]

[28] D. Verey and A. Brooks, *Gloucestershire: The Vale and the Forest of Dean* (The Buildings of England 2002), 537–8: *VCH Glos.* X, 28.
[29] *VCH Glos.* V, 391–2; *Ecclesiologist*, N.S. XLV, 258–9.
[30] Verey and Brooks, *The Vale and the Forest of Dea*n, 544–5.
[31] *The Diary of a Cotswold Parson*, ed. D. Verey (1978), 177.
[32] *VCH Glos.* V, 244–5.
[33] *Alumni Oxonienses 1715–1886*, ed. J. Foster, II, 477.
[34] O.W. Jones, *Isaac Williams and His Circle* (S.P.C.K., 1971), 123–4.
[35] *Glouc. Jnl.* 13 July 1844.
[36] Ibid. 9 Nov. 1844.

HIGH CHURCHMANSHIP IN KEMPLEY AND DYMOCK

Frederick Lygon had a clear agenda to foster High Church ideas and to revitalise church life on his estates. Once he had succeeded to his inheritance he took steps towards those ends. At Kempley and Dymock, where the vicarages were not in his gift, he bought the patronage of both livings almost immediately, that of Dymock in 1866 and that of Kempley in 1869, thereby enabling him at the first opportunity to appoint like-minded clergy to take charge of the two churches. The arrival of these new clergy and their immediate successors, often zealous young men with little experience of handling rural congregations, was to have a profound and disruptive influence on communities wedded to traditional religious certainties and observances.

Curiously the earl denied himself the chance to promote his churchmanship in Bromsberrow, the parish immediately to the north-east of Dymock, for in 1867 he sold the advowson of its rectory, part of his inheritance, without himself having had a chance to use it.[37]

In Kempley the medieval parish church (St. Mary) and the vicarage house stood virtually isolated in the north end of the parish. The inside of St. Mary's church was plainly decorated. Its famous medieval paintings in chancel and nave had long been covered with whitewash as had later biblical texts in the nave. The west end of the nave contained a gallery, entered from the first floor of the tower by a step cut into the base of a medieval window. Services, which in the mid 1820s were conducted without music, included a monthly celebration of communion for which Elizabeth Pyndar had provided an endowment in the mid 18th century.[38]

At his first opportunity to exercise the patronage of the living, in 1872, Beauchamp appointed Arthur Hislop Drummond as vicar and within two years had built for him a vicarage house and a temporary church (now the village hall) in the middle of the parish close to its main centre of population. Drummond quickly made changes to services and instigated alterations inside the old parish church, notably replacing the seating and removing the gallery. It was Drummond himself who scraped the church walls to reveal the medieval paintings in 1872:[39] surprisingly the paintings were not mentioned by Sir Richard Glynne in a note of his visit to the church shortly before his death in 1874.[40] Although Drummond's innovations in the celebration of communion and in the use of singing broke with customary practices, his journal gives no indication of opposition to his changes and certainly nothing on the scale of the criticisms faced by his contemporary Newbolt at Dymock. It does, however, tell of the strength of dissent in the parish with parishioners attending a Wesleyan chapel at Fishpool, just over the parish and county boundary within Upton Bishop. There was also a nonconformist chapel at Kempley Green, run as a mission from the Baptist church at Gorsley, in Herefordshire.

John Crowley Weaver, who became Kempley's next vicar in 1877, neglected to continue Drummond's parish journal and died in office, and was buried in the

[37] GA, D 6854/1/7; see Hockaday Abstracts (in Gloucestershire Archives), cxxxv; *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1870), 482.

[38] MCA, F 6iii, deed 1425.

[39] GA, D 5292.

[40] *Glos. Ch. Notes*, 166–7.

churchyard, in 1886.[41] Edward Denny, Beauchamp's third appointment to Kempley, was an Oxford graduate who had served several cures in Ireland. Aged about 33 in 1886,[42] he was a High Church enthusiast and while at Kempley wrote a book entitled *Anglican Orders and Jurisdiction*.[43] The record of his ministry, chronicled in his resumption of the Drummond's parish journal, tells of frustration and of vehement opposition led by the parish churchwarden Timothy John Ferris, one of the earl's farming tenants.[44] Denny's attachment to sung masses, the occasional use of vestments and incense, and services at Corpus Christi and other festivals drew the ire of parishioners, many of whom attended the Fishpool chapel. His problems, which were probably compounded by an impetuous and tactless manner, also extended to his management of the village school and his relationship with its successive teachers. Denny's ministry led many farmers to boycott services and his woes, born in part of a paranoid disposition, did not end with the departure in 1889 of the contrary churchwarden Ferris. Church life remained seriously disrupted[45] and the keeping of the churchwardens' accounts eventually lapsed altogether, to be resumed immediately on Denny's own departure from Kempley in 1898.[46]

In Dymock the nave of St. Mary's church contained east and west galleries with the pulpit and reading desk placed on its south side. Restoration of the church proceeded gradually in the later 19th century without any sign of the turmoil that accompanied changes in religious observance attempted in the 1870s. Galleries were removed, windows were reinstated and new fittings were installed by parishioners without any expressions of dissent of a doctrinal nature.

William Baird, Lord Beauchamp's first appointee as vicar, was instituted in 1867. At the time Beauchamp enlisted him he was working in the Limehouse district of London. At Dymock his presence was felt immediately. Among the changes he brought to services was music for which the church's barrel organ in the west gallery was unsuited, but within two years he had given up the task, resigning the living and returning to the East End of London.[47]

William Charles Edmund Newbolt, Beauchamp's next vicar, had Dymock as his first living, retaining it until 1877. Born in 1844, he graduated from Pembroke College, Oxford, and spent two years as curate at Wantage, Berkshire, one of the foremost Tractarian parishes under its vicar William John Butler, before going to Dymock. He was to become an eminent Anglican theologian, later in the century as, in turn, principal of Ely theological college and canon of St. Paul's. He died in 1930.[48]

While at Dymock Newbolt experienced many setbacks in his attempts to transform church life there. He recorded his problems in a full diary of his time in the parish, beginning his pastorate there on 6 November 1870 and taking his farewell, after 'a

[41] *Alumni Oxon. 1715–1886*, IV, 1515.
[42] Ibid. I, 363.
[43] Published by the S.P.C.K. in 1893: copy in Glos. Colln. 7402.
[44] *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1889), 824; MCA, I 4ii, bdl. 80, no 34.
[45] GA, D 5292.
[46] Ibid. P 188/CW 2/1.
[47] MCA, L 1i (2) letters 7 Dec. 1866–4 May 1867; W. Baird, *Feeding the Lambs* (London, 1879): copy in Glos. Colln. SR 3.32.
[48] Oxford DNB.

ministry full of difficulty and trouble' on 11 November 1877.[49] In his years at Dymock Newbolt applied the principals of parochial management he had learned at Wantage, thus confronting the laxity in the conduct of church business that he encountered on his arrival, and played a leading part in efforts to raise the standard of education at the village school, established in the mid 1780s and re-founded in the mid 1820s. In matters of worship he introduced the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, a new chalice being an early acquisition, and a greater observance of festivals and saints' days. The opposition to him was immediate and was articulated by local landowners and farmers, among them Guy Hill, the parish churchwarden. Hill farmed from the Old Rock in the parish and was a landowner in his own right. The opposition was also orchestrated by landowner and former military officer John Drummond (d. 1875) of Boyce Court, the previous patron of the living and until 1871 the lay rector. Hill and others boycotted services and several ostentatious walk-outs from services were choreographed. As early as January 1871 there were mutterings of a schism at the church and policemen patrolled the churchyard during services, although it is uncertain if the presence of the constabulary was related to the alienation of part of the congregation or to the age-old problem of loutish behaviour during services by elements within the parish.

Certainly at Dymock acrimonious relations between the parish and its incumbent were nothing new and within living memory there had been at least one episode of unruly behaviour for which religion offered a pretext. In 1840 a congregation of Latter Day Saints (an early 'Mormon' meeting) in Dymock found itself under attack with local 'lads' having sport in shooting, hanging and burning its leaders in effigy.[50] Effigies also figured in noisy demonstrations that took place in the village street in 1872. Those demonstrations, accompanied by the blowing of penny whistles and the banging of drums, were a response to comments, perceived as defamatory, made by a woman living in Newbolt's vicarage house, the old house which Beauchamp was to pull down a few years later. It was Newbolt's successor, the Hon. Alfred Frances Algernon Hanbury-Tracy, who was the first occupant as vicar of High House, the grander and more fitting accommodation provided for the incumbent by the earl.

Newbolt at first ascribed the opposition to him to conservatism in the face of change and not to a Protestant rejection of 'High Churchism' (31 December 1870). In fact his opponents took particular exception to, and were agitated primarily by, rituals and opinions they regarded as Romish. Drummond, who in 1862 while lay rector had not opposed the dismantling of the private east gallery and the erection of a replacement pew at the chancel entrance,[51] expressed to Newbolt his dislike of Gregorian chant and his rejection of the doctrine of transubstantiation and Hill (20 November 1871) persuaded Newbolt to halt his practices of prostration, genuflexion and whispering words at the administration of the Eucharist. A sermon on priesthood that excited hostile debate in the village (2 May 1871) dealt with a theme that Newbolt was to develop in his later ministries, that of a priesthood trained in accordance with Tractarian ideals of the priestly and devotional life. Nonconformists held services in

[49] GA, P 125/IN 4/19.

[50] Hereford Times 14 Nov. 1840: reference supplied by Mary Pochin of Beaudesert, Staffordshire.

[51] GA, P 125/VE 2/3.

the village during Newbolt's time there but they did not apparently win large congregations. The Baptists vacated a room in 1871 and the Wesleyans opened a short-lived mission in 1875.

At the end of his ministry in Dymock Newbolt wrote (6 September 1877) that 'There is no love of the Catholic faith per se' and that 'I am only just tolerated'. Hill opined (25 October 1877) that Newbolt's appointment to Dymock had raised a storm for his pronounced ritualism. Newbolt's differences with parishioners, however, went beyond ritual and touched matters relating to the church's place in village life. On one such matter, the ringing of the church bells, Newbolt again found himself at odds with at least part of the parish in an argument that continued for some years after the ringers' exclusion from the belfry in 1873 and the formation of a new band.

It was during Newbolt's ministry that the Dymock church choir started wearing surplices. Lord Beauchamp, whose love of music has been recorded, provided help to improve the music in the church, lending a harmonium from Madresfield and later, in 1874, building an organ chamber on the side of the chancel. The chamber, the cost of which he shared with the parish, was one of a number of alterations the earl, as lay rector from 1871, made to the chancel.

Lord Beauchamp lent Newbolt occasional support. During the dispute with the bellringers he provided a dinner for the new band at the village schoolroom (15 January 1874) whereas local landowner John Drummond, Newbolt's opponent, hosted the expelled ringers to supper a few weeks later (11 February 1874). Beauchamp attended some parish meetings but the vicar's principal opponents were no doubt emboldened by the fact that they were landowners in their own right and not tenants of the earl. The farmers were usually owner-occupiers, established on their land as freeholders or copyholders. Copyhold in Dymock was of a particularly privileged form, by inheritance with the holders being able to dispose freely of the land with the manorial lords' consent.[52] Many of the farms had been in the possession of the same families for generations if not centuries. Lord Beauchamp perhaps inadvertently frustrated nonconformists by his acquisition in 1875 of cottages that some dissenters had been considering as the site for a chapel.

CONCLUSION

In both Kempley and Dymock Lord Beauchamp evidently maintained himself aloof from the fray—the fortunes of Newbolt's successors at Dymock are not recorded in such graphic detail—and his visits to both parishes were rare and occasional. Both places were on the periphery of his extensive estates, most of which were located in Worcestershire and centred on Madresfield Court.

There is no evidence that he shared the opprobrium meted out to his clergy. At Dymock social conventions were preserved by the ringing of the church bells to mark events in the lives of the earl and his family. Among occasions on which the bells were rung were, on either side of the dispute with the ringers, the birth of the earl's first son, the future 7th earl, in 1872 (an event also celebrated by the planting of a chestnut

[52] Bigland, *Historical, Monumental, and Genealogical Collections*, I, 526–7 n.; The National Archives (PRO), C 78/1453, no 5.

tree on the village green) and the burial of his first wife at Madresfield in 1876; the latter was marked by a muffled peal.[53] Following his death in 1891 parishioners, mindful no doubt of works such as his enlargement of the village green, subscribed to a memorial to him. It was created in the form of glass installed in a church window in 1893. About the same time the Plough, the inn next to the churchyard, was renamed the Beauchamp Arms. The 7th earl, the young William Lygon, safeguarded his father's legacy in Kempley and Dymock for a time but his involvement with life in the two parishes was greatly reduced after the sale of outlying parts of the Madresfield estates in 1919. The same year Kempley's school, built and founded by the 6th earl, closed.

In Kempley opposition to High Churchmanship continued unabated and Edward Denny's departure from Kempley in 1898 was perhaps less than ceremonious. A local historian undertaking research in the 1950s or 1960s learnt from an old man that Kempley's parishioners had once rid themselves of an unpopular incumbent by demonstrating noisily around the vicarage house for three days and nights, their cacophony arising from the blowing of trumpets and the banging of drums, kettles, and cans. That story may contain a kernel of truth. The elderly informant averred that that the clergyman in question had ended his days in an aylum[54] but whatever his ultimate fate Denny was to hold a High Church living at Codford, in Wiltshire, for a number of years.[55] In 1898 Kempley parishioners presented Denny's successor as vicar with an address pleading for a simpler and more traditional Sunday morning service but he yielded little.[56] In fact the 6th earl's High Church sentiments had passed to his son and were to be evident in the fittings of a new Arts and Crafts church built by the young 7th earl and completed in 1903. Before dedicating the church to St. Edward King and Confessor the bishop ordered the removal of certain fittings, namely two rood statues, a baldachin, and in the Lady chapel an altar stone;[57] they were reinstated soon after the bishop's resignation in 1905, having been kept in store by a sympathetic farmer.[58] Despite the 7th earl's support the High Church strand in worship at Kempley waned. In 1907 an incoming vicar decided to use vestments only at principal festivals and not to revive the practice of sung masses every Sunday, and the number of candlesticks on the main altar of St. Edward's was reduced to two. He also agreed, at the bishop's request, to use St. Mary's, the old parish church, for the monthly communion service and in the summer for two Sunday services a month.[59] Following a major restoration in 1913 St. Mary's was used every Sunday.[60] In 1975 it was declared redundant and St. Edward's was made the parish church.[61]

[53] GA, P 125/IN 4/19.

[54] Theodora C. Reeves, 'History of Little Marcle and of Preston Parish' (1972, typescript in Glos. Colln. 36709), 124–5.

[55] Information from Dr. C.L. Smith, editor VCH Glos. (formerly assistant editor VCH Wilts.).

[56] GA, D 5292.

[57] Ibid. P 188/IN 1/1; D 5292.

[58] J.E. Gethyn-Jones, *St. Mary's Church, Kempley, and its Paintings* (1961), 37.

[59] GA, D 5292.

[60] Ibid. P 188/CW 2/2.

[61] Ibid. D 7322.

In retrospect the three or four decades beginning in 1866 represent a brief yet turbulent episode in church life in Kempley and Dymock. Testimony to that interlude are the new church at Kempley and, less striking though as significant, some of the alterations to the church fabric and fittings at Dymock dating from those years. The chancel screen was dedicated some months after Frederick Lygon's death in 1891.[62] Attempts at Dymock by Sidney Marston, who until his appointment as vicar there in 1911 was chaplain to the 7th earl at Madresfield,[63] to reintroduce elements of High Church ritual after the First World War were not sustained.[64] The 6th earl's legacy to the two parishes as a landowner is, however, pervasive. Throughout the landscape and its farmsteads stand his buildings and trees and the Dymock villagers have an enlarged green by his courtesy.

[62] Ibid. P 125/IN 1/18, p. 222.
[63] Ibid. IN 1/21, ff. 142, 144.
[64] Ibid. P 125/MI 27 (par. mag. Feb. 1921).

XV

Gloucester Cathedral in 1855: the 'First Ever Quinquennial'

C M HEIGHWAY

INTRODUCTION

The splendid Romanesque and Gothic abbey at Gloucester, whose foundation stone was laid by the Norman Abbot Serlo in 1089, was at the Dissolution saved from destruction by being declared the seat of a new Bishopric. Throughout the 16th and 17th centuries the interest of the cathedral authorities, when engaged, was often more directed towards internal refitting and refurbishing rather than restoration of the fabric: for instance the choir was refurbished in the mid 17th century and again in the early 18th century,[1] but maintenance of the fabric consisted of little more than running repairs. Nevertheless the cathedral's robust medieval construction kept it intact if not in good order.

Interest in the structural history of the Cathedral and its surroundings could be said to begin in the early 18th century with the survey of Browne Willis, who prepared the first reasonably accurate plan of the Cathedral and its claustral buildings[2] and early 19th century studies kept the architecture of the Cathedral in the informed public mind.[3] By the beginning of the 19th century, however, the wear of the centuries was taking its toll. In 1846 the British Archaeological Association made a visit to Gloucester Cathedral. An eminent and leading member was George Godwin, 1815–1888, distinguished architect and editor since the previous year of *The Builder.* Godwin commented on the state of the building; 'unless some proper supervision was exercised and some professional architect occasionally consulted, hereafter considerable expense would be entailed which might now be saved'.[4] Godwin was particularly concerned about the build-up of soil around the cathedral especially the south side where up to 12 feet of accumulated earth was damaging the fabric of the building.

[1] D Welander, *History Art and Architecture of Gloucester Cathedral* (1991), 399–400.

[2] Browne Willis, *A Survey of the Cathedrals of York, Durham, Carlisle, Chester, Man, Lichfield, Hereford, Worcester, Gloucester, and Bristol* (London 1727).

[3] J Carter and J Basire, *Plans, Elevations Sections and Specimens of the Architecture of the Cathedral Church of Gloucester* (Society of Antiquaries, London, 1807) J Britton, *The History and Antiquities of the Abbey and Cathedral Church of Gloucester* (London 1829) [Plates by H. Ansted, W. H. Bartlett and J. Carter].

[4] 'The improvements at Gloucester Cathedral', *The Builder* (Nov 8, 1856), 603; *Transactions of the British Archaeological Association at its 3rd Annual Congress held at Gloucester 1846* (London 1848), 320–21.

Clearly pressure was being put on the Dean and Chapter to address the problem of maintenance and restoration. The *ad hoc* works of former centuries had already been superseded by more systematic management, and for the first half of the 19th century, repairs at the Cathedral had often been assigned to the architect Thomas Fulljames (the name of two men, the second a nephew of the first).[5] The firm was subsequently joined by Frederick Sanham Waller (1822–1905). Already Supervisor of Works at the Cathedral at the time of the BAA visit, Waller was subsequently appointed as the Cathedral Architect.[6]

Waller's contribution to study and understanding of the cathedral is immeasurable. Not only was he responsible for the important programme of maintenance at the Cathedral in the mid and late 19th century,[7] he also understood the fabric of the building in a historical sense, and published many works which made clear this understanding to others (Fig 1). [8]

Between 1846 and 1855 some significant work was carried out at the cathedral, including the clearance of the soil and drainage of the area around the church. Having dealt with this fundamental problem of drainage, however, major repairs were still needed. To this end, the firm of Fulljames and Waller was commissioned in June 1855 to carry out a thorough survey of the condition of the cathedral church and buildings.[9] The report's introduction was signed by F S Waller and he probably carried out the survey: however when the report was copied out in 1863 Waller was indisposed due to a riding accident and Fulljames was acting in his stead, which explains the side heading on page 29. At the end of the report on page 48 is a summary of work done 1855–63: this is signed by Fulljames. The work done in these years is described in fuller detail in Waller's log book.[10]

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The survey can be seen as the first Quinquennial report. Such regular reports are now legally required of Cathedral Authorities.[11] Waller's report of 1855 set out a program which was to be followed for many decades. His cautious philosophy of repair, stated at the outset, 'to retain in all cases as much as possible of the old work, restoring only where actually perished', is still relevant today. and is echoed in (for example) the Cathedral's Conservation Plan, which states, 'It is a presumption that the existing fabric of components of it will be preserved provided that they continue to fulfill their intended functions.' [12]

[5] Welander, *History Art and Architecture*, 446. For the Fulljames family see B Carne, 'Thomas Fulljames 1808–74…' *TBGAS* 113 (1995), 7–20. There is a useful history of the practice of Fulljames and Waller in Gloucestershire Record Office, forming the introduction to accession D2593.

[6] Welander, *History Art and Architecture*, 446.

[7] With the exception of the period 1866–1872 when Gilbert Scott was in charge.

[8] e.g. F S Waller, *General Architectural Description of Gloucester Cathedral* (1856); *Notes and Sketches of Gloucester Cathedral (*1890), particularly plate 4, which has never been bettered as a depiction of the surviving Romanesque structure (here Fig 1).

[9] Gloucester Cathedral Library, *Chapter Act Book* 6, 23 June 1855, p. 308.

[10] Gloucester Cathedral Library MS 53: architects log book for the years 1853–66.

[11] *The Care of Cathedrals Measure* 1989, clause 14 (1).

[12] C Brown (compiler) *Gloucester Cathedral Conservation Plan* (Gloucester Cathedral 2004), 40.

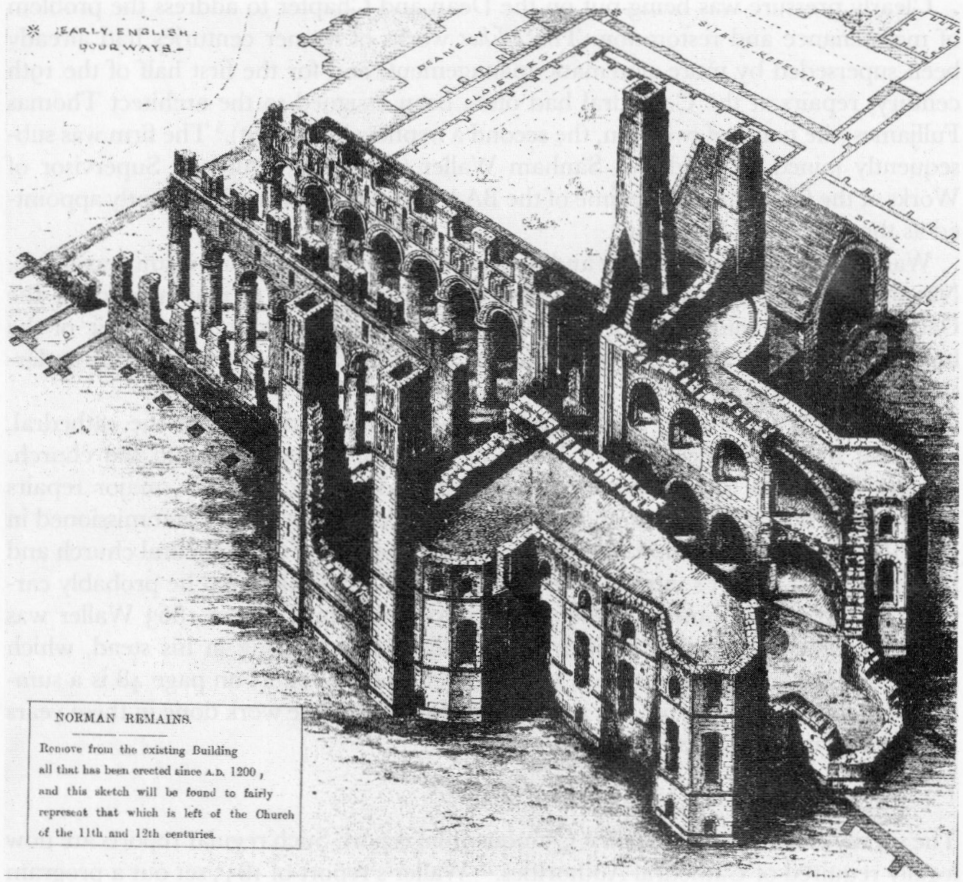

Fig 1. The Romanesque abbey depicted by Waller, all later additions removed. From F S Waller, *Notes and Sketches of Gloucester Cathedral* (1890) plate 4.

The text of the survey was copied into the Chapter Act Book eight years after its commissioning;[13] the whereabouts of the original report, with its accompanying plans, is unknown.

The report is set out in columns, headed as described in the transcript below. The wide page of the original enables the 'present condition' and the 'proposed work' to be set side-by-side. However, the present page wide being too narrow to duplicate this, this transcript uses the column headings as sub-headings, and sets the survey and the proposals one after the other.

In the original each page has the date 2nd July 1863 written at the top of the left-hand margin. Page numbers are indicated below as bold raised numbers: they are repeated wherever the column text in the original starts a new page, and also repeated at the head of each section.

[13] *Chapter Act Book* 7, 7 July 1863, pp. 29–48.

Original spelling and punctuation has been retained. Editorial interpolation is in square brackets.

[TRANSCRIPT]

Mr Fulljames Report on Cathedral/the general subject [14]

[29]To the Very Reverend the Dean and Chapter of Gloster
Gentlemen.

In compliance with the instructions received from your Treasurer the Rev[d.] Francis Jeune D.D. I have carefully examined in all its parts the Cathedral Church at Gloucester and beg to submit for your[15] consideration the accompanying report thereon.

In order that such report may be more readily understood and referred to, I have divided it under the following heads—viz "Subject treated of, or Portion of the Edifice alluded to"—"Description of present state and arrangement" "Proposed alteration or Restoration" and "Probable cost" taking each part of the Cathedral separately in order that the work may be carried out according to the urgency of the case as therein stated, or the amount of Funds at your disposal.

The general principle kept in view throughout is to retain in all cases as much as possible of the old work, restoring only where actually perished, to take all precautions that can be adopted to prevent further decay in the external stonework by carrying the water from the Building, and by such judicious repair as from time to time may be found necessary—To keep the Choir as at present as regards all the old work, with one or two exceptions hereinafter mentioned, in order to more thoroughly adapt it to the requirements of the present day—To remove all matters really misplaced in the Cathedral, to clean and put in order all the Chapels Monuments and other interesting portions, and without any attempt at restoration of features, the use of which has become obsolete, to leave them as well cared for but beautiful remains and architectural reminiscences of bygone ages

The state of the building is fortunately such in general that no great difficulty can arise as to the proper restoration of its various parts, no very material alterations having been made since the Reformation, nor any great constructional defects demanding immediate attention having occurred, such as dangerous settlements, nor even an amount of decay which renders correct restoration impossible excepting only in a few instances

In the event of my recommendations being adopted I think it would be advisable to proceed with the work in the following order

1 The Drainage of Building and removal of soil
2 The Eastern Window of the choir with its painted Glass
3 The North Aisle Roof[30]
4 The other Roofs generally according to their state of repair

[14] This heading is written in a different hand in the left-hand margin.

[15] Here and elsewhere space at the end of the line has been filled by written loops—these have been omitted throughout the transcript.

5 The external stonework according to its state
6 And lastly the internal decoration

The time best adapted for carrying out the internal arrangements I do not allude to as this is not a matter affecting the structure and will be more properly determined by yourselves
I have the honour to remain
Gentlemen
Your obedient Servant
Fred S Waller
of the firm
of Fulljames & Waller

Report "on the present state of Gloucester Cathedral and the order, nature and (as far as may be) the probable expense of the repairs and restorations desirable to be effected in order to place the Cathedral in as perfect a state as practicable" made in compliance with an order of Chapter bearing date June 23rd 1855 together with a supplement being a general description of the Church of the Holy and Undiv[id]ed Trinity formerly the Abbey Church of S[t] Peter at *Gloucester*.[16]

GENERAL LEVELS AND DRAINAGE[17]

Description of present State of Arrangement
Commencing from the new School[18] on the South and continuing round the North and East ends of the Building up to the chapel on the East of the South Transept the soil which had been for years accumulating has been entirely removed in some cases to a depth of four feet the surface of the ground levelled and planted ornamentally and the whole thoroughly well drained with deep drains made of glazed pipes 1 foot in diameter and the trenches filled up with large stones to within 1 foot of the surface.[19]

[31]From the said Chapel on the East of the South Transept to the South Porch there is a considerable accumulation of soil varying in depth from 4 feet to 6 inches; the drainage is very defective and injury has arisen to the Building from this circumstance.

The water is carried from off the roofs by projecting gargoils and lead ducts the whole of which arrangement is in its present state extremely imperfect

The present laying out of the Green and Burial Ground takes much from the effect

[16] 'Gloucester' underlined and centred in the original.

[17] Written in the first column which is headed ' Subject treated of or portion of the Edifice alluded to'.

[18] The new King's School Room was built in 1851 on the supposed site of the monastic dormitory, north of the Chapter House (VCH iv, 228; 338). It is presently used as a gymnasium.

[19] This heavy rubble backfill has indeed been recorded during repair of these drains: C Heighway, *Gloucester Cathedral and Precinct: An Archaeological Assessment (*2nd edition 2001), Record no. 94, site 97Cii.

of the Building and the iron railings[20] and Guards are very unsightly placed as they are against and let into the Stone work

Proposed alteration or restoration

[31]To remove all the soil from the Building down to the original level inclining therefrom with a slight slope for 20 feet and from thence rising gradually to the present level of the ground as found most convenient.

To place down pipes in all cases where they will not injure the appearance of the Building to be made of lead and galvanized iron. In other parts the gargoils and water courses to be so arranged as to insure their efficiency.

To put in at such depth as the City sewers will admit of a drain commencing from A on the plan[21] and continuing to B to be made of 12 inch glazed socket pipes with 6 inch glazed pipes communicating with or under all the down pipes or gargoils where found necessary.

To take down the present iron railings and dwarf walls and arrange as shewn on the sketch the whole of the South and West fronts laying out the ground in Walks and drives with ornamental planting

Probable cost
£550. 0. 0.

THE CRYPT[22] AND SLYP ADJOINING CHAPTER HOUSE

Description of present State of Arrangement

[31]The Crypt floor is raised above the original level about 1 foot 6 inches in the aisles taking such measurement from the lower part of the bases of the Shafts for there are no remains of old flooring to be seen in any of the Excavations that have been made the bases of the piers of the centre part are 2 ft lower than those in the aisles and therefore from 3 feet to 3 feet 6 inches under ground

The whole of the centre portion of the Crypt is of a lower level than the aisles.

The centre piers have been excavated to the lower member [32]of the bases and water appeared soon after to within 6 or 8 inches of the surface which rises and falls according to the state of the weather

The Stonework generally is in good order though perished in some parts very dirty and discoloured

The plastering on the walls is very defective

The Windows are not glazed and in some cases do not appear to have ever been so the Ironwork is much corroded and in many parts quite eaten through

[20] Railings surrounding the burial ground and attached to the south porch are illustrated for instance in F S Waller, *General Architectural Description of Gloucester Cathedral*, 1856, fig 20 (here Fig 2).

[21] The plan that went with this document has not been located but there is a plan of late 19th century date which shows these new drains: my copy is GCAR drawing G1: not sure of Cathedral Library number.

[22] Waller later published a very full analysis and report on the crypt: F. S. Waller, 'The Crypt of Gloucester Cathedral', *Trans Bristol and Gloucestershire Arch Soc* i, 1876, 147–52.

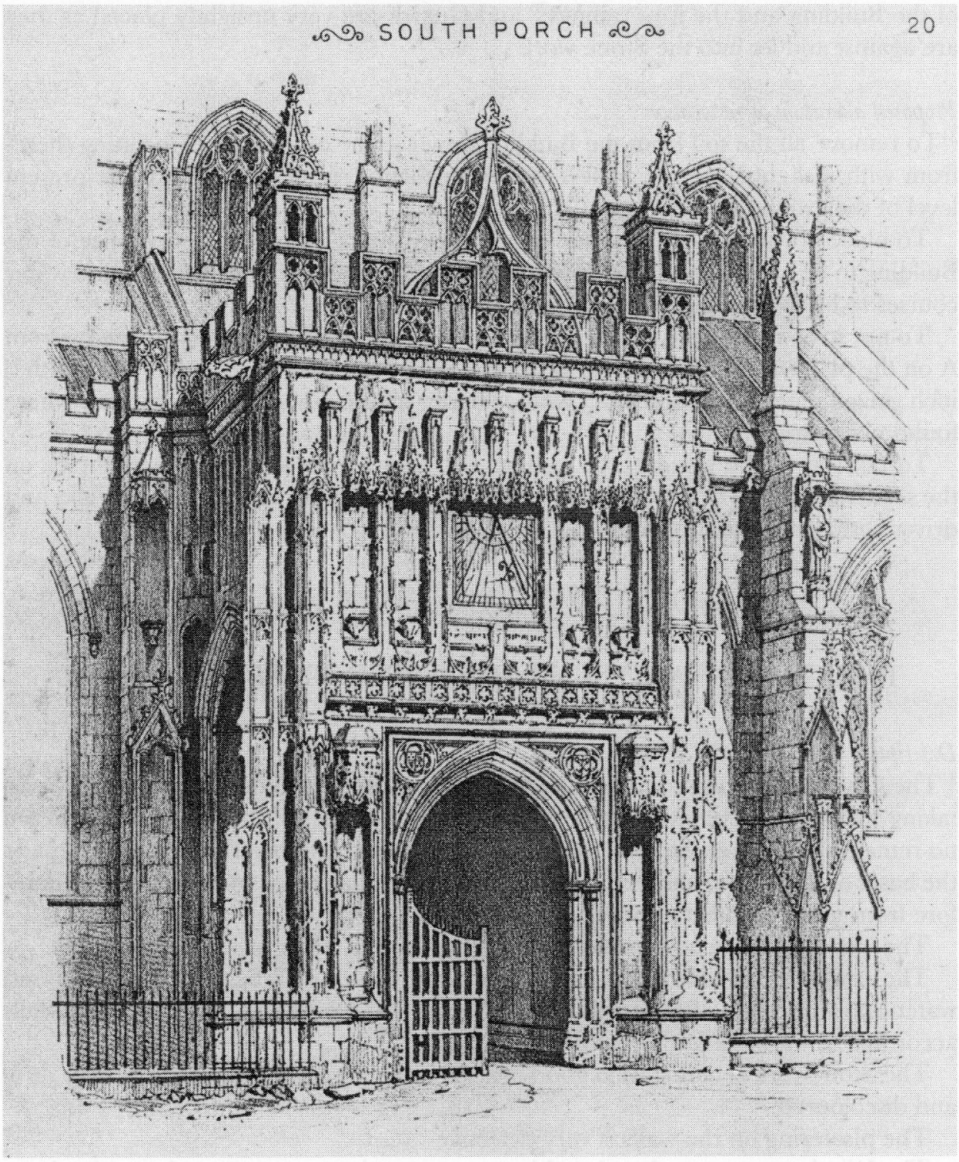

Fig 2. The south porch at Gloucester Cathedral: from F S Waller, *General Architectural Description of Gloucester Cathedral* (1856), fig 20.

The Groins have cracked in places and the plastering on them is much perished the Arches have in some cases been filled up with a view of affording relief to the groins where cracked

The Stonework of the Slyp is in a worse condition than that of the Crypt generally and the Stonework under the bases of the Shafts of the Arcade on each side has been removed and the floor and vaulted roof are both in bad condition.

Proposed alteration or restoration

[31]To remove the soil to the original level of the aisles and carry the same level through the centre portion the water rendering it unpracticable to bring this to its original level to put in drains capable of taking all the water from the lowest part and conduct them into the main drain. To lay the whole of the floor with such of the old paving as may be taken up in other parts of the Cathedral where encaustic tiles are proposed to restore the steps leading from the North Chapel to the Slyp

To repair the whole of the Stonework of the Windows [32]inside and out, the piers ribs walls and groins where badly or dangerously perished.

To reinstate the Ironwork in the windows & make such other general repairs as are desirable for this part of the Building but with great care and consideration so as not to injure the effect of this part of the building.

To wedge and well point the groins where necessary.

As no great advantage would be gained by taking away the Stonework under the groins & probably great expense incurred it is not thought advisable to recommend this removal.

To open a doorway[23] from the Cloisters for the use of the Deanery into the Slyp adjoining the Chapter House and thoroughly repair the whole of the Stonework flooring and vaulting of the same.

Probable cost:
£533. 0. 0.

SOUTH PORCH[24]

Description of present State of Arrangement

[32]The West front of this Porch had already been restored at a cost of about £———[25].

The interior is much perished as to Walls floor and Stone seats the groining is generally in good condition but covered with lime washes

The South and East Fronts are so much perished that Restoration can only be accomplished with the greatest care the figures are all gone. The Timber of the Roof is Chestnut in good repair the Lead is in bad order and had been often repaired and soldered.

[23] The Romanesque eastern locutorium (usually called the east slype at Gloucester cathedral) originally followed the usual Benedictine arrangement of opening from the cloisters. However, the entrance was covered over when the cloisters were rebuilt in the late 14th century. The original semicircular arch can still be seen behind the cloister tracery. The Victorian doorway therefore reinstated the 12th century arrangement, though with a door rather than an archway.

[24] The history of the restoration of the south porch in 1871 and in 1991 is dealt with fully in S Bagshaw, C Heighway and A Price, 'The South Porch of Gloucester Cathedral: A Study of Nineteenth-century Stone Repair Types' *J British Archaeological Association* 157 (2004), 91–114.

[25] The total was never filled in: there are blanks in the similar entries in Wallers Log Book: see above, note 10.

[33]The entrance door[26] into the South aisle is with the exception of the wicket of Oak is covered with ornamental iron work and hinges but completely coated with thick paint.

Proposed alteration or restoration

[32]To reinstate or repair the whole of the Stonework inside and out and remove all the wash from off the groining and well point it to relay the Floors with hard stone paving to glaze with flowered quarries the East Window and provide new iron work for the same

To take off the present lead and relay with lead 8 lbs to the foot in narrow widths having first made true such of the timbers as may require it and providing new boarding where necessary

[33]To take off its hinges the door and thoroughly cleanse it and the iron work of the paint and make a new oak wicket, to well oil and varnish the door and clean and make good the ironwork

Probable cost
£1787. 0. 0.

THE NAVE

Description of present State of Arrangement

[33]The two Western Pinnacles of the nave with the Buttresses have been recently restored at a cost of £——[27]

The Stonework of the interior is in a good state of repair generally with the exception of those parts of the Piers which are calcined by the burning of the ancient wooden roof which existed prior to the erection of the present vaulting and the whole is completely covered up with a succession of coats of lime washes.

The bases of the large Piers are modern placed against the old stonework and the whole floor is 10 inches higher than its original level as found by recent examination which exposed a square base[28] to the large columns below the present stone paving and the remains of an encaustic floor.

The small vaulting shafts and the upper members of the caps are of Marble.[29]

[26] The nave south door is an important item in the cathedral's inventory. The sickle-hinge straps and the doors date to the 13th century: the lobed bars and adossed Cs are mid 14th-century, trimmed when the doors were moved to the south porch position 1421–37, perhaps from the south-west tower. See Jane Geddes, *Medieval Decorative Ironwork in England* (Society of Antiquaries, London, 1999), 325–6.

[27] Again, the total was never inserted. There have been three major repairs of the west front, one in 1848, one beginning in 1905, and a third in 1995: all included the turrets, which are particularly vulnerable to prevailing westerly gales. There is little stone which has not been replaced in the last 150 years. C. Heighway, *Gloucester Cathedral and Precinct: An Archaeological Assessment* (2nd edition 2001), 33.

[28] For the history of the nave floor and its various column bases see C Heighway, *Archaeological Assessment*, 34–5.

[29] Polished Forest-of-Dean lias stone, not Purbeck 'marble'.

The ribs and groins are in substantial repair but coated with washes and the plastering of the groining is in many parts very defective

The floor is of stone in some places worn and broken the Piers are for the most part defaced with monuments.

The large west window with its ornamental parapet over and the door underneath are in a very dilapidated condition the parapet was many years ago very unjudiciously renewed.[30]

The Stonework of the Clerestory on the North and South side is in a bad state of repair especially on the South side. The pinnacles and part of the battlements are modern and bad.

[34]The Roof is in many places sunk and irregular, badly constructed and the timbers very defective the lead work is out of place has been often patched and soldered the joints of the lead are bent and twisted and pieces of new lead inserted where the old has slipped the whole is in a bad state of repair.

The glazing and ironwork throughout is in bad order—The West Window has painted glass in the Upper lights partly collected from various other windows and the Clerestory windows have the remains of painted quarries with borders enriched.

The vaulting shafts with their Capitals and Bases and the Bosses at the intersection of the ribs have all more or less of the old coloring left on them which can be detected when the lime washes are carefully removed.

Proposed alteration or restoration

[33]To completely clean off the whole of the washes from the interior as to walls piers ribs and groins carefully preserving the original surface of the stone to rake out the joints of the stone work and well point them with good hard mortar to cut out such of the stone as is perished and restore with masonry of a similar description taking great care to preserve the character of the old work. To restore the original Bases as seen on the Piers near to the same and to remove the whole of the present floor and soil so as to expose the old proportions of the Piers.[31]

To polish and reinstate where requisite the Marble shafts and capitals.

To skim over the underside of the vaulting where formerly plastered so as to bring it to one uniform face and color.

To relay the whole floor with encaustic tiles[32] adopting the old arrangement and pattern if it can be discovered. To remove the monuments to situations to be fixed on in the Triforium of the choir or elsewhere as may be thought best.

To thoroughly repair the whole of the outside stonework comprising that portion of the western facade at present unrestored and the clerestories North and South with the pinnacles buttresses and battlements.

[30] Several prints show the original parapet: see for instance Bartlett 1828, illustrated in Welander, *History Art and Architecture*, 441.

[31] This was never done: floor levels in the nave are still 18th century and the 'false bases' described by Waller are still there.

[32] In the event the nave was re-floored with flagstones, though Scott used encaustic tiles in the choir.

[34]To take off such of the present roof[33] as is necessary reconstruct the same and find such new materials as are required to recover the same with new lead 8 lbs to the foot on boards with rolls made out of the lead itself and to make good the gutters and down pipes

To fill with painted glass the west window reusing the old painted glass where possible and to reglaze the windows in the clerestory with flowered quarries with enriched borders of the same description and pattern as at present carefully preserving and reusing all the existing remains

To color in strict accordance with the old specimens the whole of the capitals and bases of the vaulting shafts and the bosses on the groining.[34]

Probable cost
£8228. 0. 0.

SOUTH AISLE

Description of present State of Arrangement

[34]The West front and adjoining Bay of the South Aisle had already been restored at a cost of £—[blank]

The Stonework inside is in good substantial repair but as in the Nave covered with lime washes.

The South Wall is out of perpendicular at 10 inches in its whole height this must have been the case to a great extent before the massive external Buttresses and the groining were put up as the groining has moved very little and the buttresses lean out only 4 inches or thereabouts in their whole height and will probably with proper precaution never move further.

The floor is of stone in places broken and worn.

[35]The outside Stonework is very much perished and of the figures which are very fine specimens of the sculpture of the early part of the 14th century only two remain perfect[35]

The pinnacles are modern and though probably correct in general outline bad in detail.

The Roof is in some parts in the main timbers much out of repair the boarding carrying the lead and the lead itself in bad order slipped and twisted and the gutter sunk & irregular

The glazing and iron-work in the Windows are defective

The consistory court is fitted up at the end of the South aisle it is of a style most ill adapted to the Building.[36]

[33] The 19th century repairs prolonged the life of the roof for about a century: it was replaced with steel in 1953. See Heighway, 'The Archaeology of Gloucester Cathedral', in T Tatton-Brown and J Munby (eds) *The Archaeology of Cathedrals* (Oxford 1996), 73–80 at 77.

[34] This was never done: only the choir was re-polychromed. There must have been a good deal of colour visible which is not there now.

[35] Jerry Sampson considers that the statues are not 14th century but early 16th century: J Sampson, 'Gloucester Cathedral: The South Nave Aisle: the figure sculpture' t/s, 1997.

[36] It was later removed and its heavy Jacobean woodwork recycled: some is now in use as the rail in front of the tomb of Edward II.

Proposed alteration or restoration

[34]To cleanse the whole of the internal Stonework rake out the joints and well point the same

To plaster the groining where required—To reinstate such portions of the stonework as may be found defective from fire or otherwise.

To take up the Stone floor and remove the soil and relay with Encaustic Tiles at the same level as the Nave floor.

[35]To restore with extreme care the Southern facade preserving all that can by any and every means be retained of the old work.

To thoroughly repair the roof and employ such new timber as is required with boarding and lead 8 lbs to the foot laid as before stated and with all proper fall to the gutter

To fill with painted glass the whole of the windows including the large windows at the West and Southwest bay of the South aisle.

To remove the whole of the Woodwork of the Consistory Court

Probable cost
£4125. 0. 0

NORTH AISLE

Description of present State of Arrangement

[35]The West front of this has also been restored at a cost of £—[blank].

The interior stonework as to walls piers groins ribs &c is in substantial repair but plastered up with washes.

The vaulting is in some parts settled though not importantly so—The North Wall leans towards the Cloisters the pressure from which materially prevents any further lateral tendency The floor as in the Nave [36]and South Aisle is of stone broken in some places

The external stonework is in indifferent repair and some portions of the wall cased with red sandstone[37] is much perished. This facade is very plain.

The Roof is as to timber and stone tiles with which it is covered in a dilapidated condition and is much the worst roof throughout the cathedral.

There are remains of painted Glass in the windows all of which are in bad repair as to glazing and ironwork.

Proposed alteration or restoration

[35]To cleanse and point the whole of the interior stone work and to repair where necessary to take off the defective plastering on the vaulting restore and stop the cracks

To put down Pipes where required

To take up the Stone Floor and relay with Encaustic Tiles on the same level with the Nave and [and][38] South Aisle

[36]To repair the whole of the exterior Stonework removing the red sandstone where perished

[37] Arthur Price (pers comm.) considers that this 'red sandstone' may have been burnt oolite.

[38] The word 'and' is accidentally repeated.

To take off the present roof and construct another of the same pitch and cover it with lead as before described for the Nave and South Aisle

To fill the windows with painted glass completing the designs in accordance with the existing remains and reinstate the ironwork

Probable cost
£3465. 0. 0.

THE CHOIR

Description of present State of Arrangement

[36]The stonework of the choir as regards the interior is in good substantial order but covered with lime wash and dirt

The groining also is in good condition

The external elevations of the North East and South fronts are more or less perished as to the window tracery buttresses parapets and pinnacles.

The Roof timbers have been repaired and pieced in several parts. The tie beams and struts have been spliced and the Rafters furred up the boarding and lead work is in bad condition.

The Glazing and ironwork of the windows are in a bad state of repair parts of the old painted glass are left sufficient to shew the original design consisting of figures in inches [= niches] in the lower lights of the clerestory windows with flowered quarries patterns and borders in the [37]upper lights. The East Window is sufficiently perfect to be interpreted and a sketch for its restoration by Messrs Hardman accompanies this report [It] is in a sad state of repair the ironwork is in many parts eaten through and the glass retained in its place by mortar only. it is on this account that it is recommended as one of the first things to be attended to.[39]

The arrangement of the choir at present is shown on the plan from which it will be seen that there is the usual and original arrangement of stalls against the north and south walls and returned on the West All of which stalls with the miserere seats have been very much mutilated and defaced.

The tabernacle work is of oak and painted in front of the stalls are two rows of seats of Italian character—To the west and immediately behind the returned stalls is the Organ Screen with the organ raised high above it and obtruding itself as a great tasteless mass between the Nave and Choir—the first object that strikes the eye on entering the building interfering most materially with the choir roof and great East Window as seen from the Nave, and the Nave roof as seen from the choir, bad in design and color and in every way inconsistent with the church

[38]The screen was erected by the late Dr Griffith[40] from parts of old screens in the aisles and the Organ was removed from the South Transept. Abbots Seabrokes Monument and Chapel being much altered and mutilated at the same time.

[39] The great east window was repaired in the early 1860s: see C Winstone, 'The Great East Window of Gloucester Cathedral', *Archaeol Journ* 1863 xx, 239–53. More major repairs were done in 1998: see L Selinger 'History of repairs to the stained glass in the Great East Window of Gloucester Cathedral', September 2001 (report in Gloucester Cathedral Library).

[40] in 1819.

The spaces between the Tower arches North and South which originally were chapels the one inclosed by a wooden the other by a stone screen are now converted into closets of different sorts with staircases leading to galleries above.

In both of these chapels are the remains of old painting reredoses &c.

The great altar screen is modern[41] placed against the front of the old one, the outline of which can be seen from behind—The Sedilia were very beautiful as seen from the remaining portions.

The centre part of the choir is floored with stone but some of the original flooring remains under the floor of the modern seats—The Presbytery is in part floored with encaustic tiles, the old pattern and arrangement.[42] Those immediately round the Altar are a collection from different parts of the Cathedral.

The altar Table & Rails are much out of character[43]

Proposed alteration or restoration

[36]To repair where required and to completely clean and well point all the stonework of the Walls groins arches &[c].

To repair the North East and South fronts where perished on the outside restoring all the windows buttresses parapets and other stonework.

To reinstate the whole of the roof finding such new timber as is requisite to lay down new lead on boards with all proper rolls and gutters.

To fill all the windows of the clerestory with painted glass of a similar description to that which previously existed retaining all existing portions and to restore the East Window as nearly as possible to its original design with the [37]canopied figures borders flowered quarries & armorial bearings.

To remove the seats in front of the stalls and the organ screen and Gallery. Also the galleries between the Lower Arches on the north and south sides & reinstate them as near as may be and as far as the remaining portion will admit of according to their original plan—To restore all that is defective in the stalls and miserere remove the paint[44] and arrange the choir as shewn on the plan.[45]

To remove the organ into the Triforium on the North side allowing one portion of it to shew in the archway opening into the North Transept and such other part as may be thought desirable to appear in the choir in the first compartment Eastward of the Tower.

[38]To restore the Screen round Abbot Seabrokes Monument and place the figure in its proper position on the North side

[41] Put in 1806 by Dean John Luxmore: see Welander, *History Art and Architecture*, 428; and replaced by Scott in 1872.

[42] For the presbytery tiles see A Kellock, 'Abbot Sebroke's Pavement: a medieval tile floor in Gloucester Cathedral', *TBGAS* 107, 171–88.

[43] The Laudian altar rails—see Welander, *History Art and Architecture*, 429, for photograph, today survive, cut down, in the Lady Chapel, having been transferred there after restoration of the chapel in the late 1890s.

[44] Loose finials from the choir woodwork, now in the cathedral store, are heavily covered in brown paint or varnish, but show gilding underneath this: the gilding itself is not primary.

[45] The plan was published in Welander *HAA*, p 469 and Plate 26. Waller's proposal to remove the heavy stone screen and open the west end of the choir to the nave was an idea that was considered, but rejected, by Scott: Welander, *History Art and Architecture*, 468–9.

To erect a pulpit[46] near to the first pier from the Tower on the North side to place open screen across the North and South aisles as shewn—To remove the Western returned stalls excepting one on either side for the Dean and Canon in residence and substitute an open screen only between the Nave and choir in order that the Nave may be conveniently used for Divine Worship.

To restore the Sedilia and Altar Screen as nearly as can be ascertained to their former state.

To floor the choir and Presbytery throughout with Encaustic Tiles of a similar design to those of which there are existing specimens and adopt the same arrangement of them.

To provide a new Altar Table and remove the present rails.

Probable cost
£12386. 0. 0.

NORTH TRANSEPT

Description of present State of Arrangement

[39]The Interior Stonework is in much the same condition as that of the choir and covered with washes. The exterior of the windows the parapets and buttresses & copings are in some parts much decayed and the mortar in the early work has disappeared from the joints of the stonework to a considerable depth though the Stonework itself is in better order generally than the later work.—On the south side repairs have been made many years ago with red sandstone which is perished

The Floor is composed of Stone with monumental slabs of different kinds many of which have been inlaid with handsome brasses

The roof timbers are in many instances very bad and have been spliced and tied up with iron straps, the ends of the tie beams having rotted of[f] on the walls. The boarding and leadwork are much out of repair.

The Glazing and Iron work are very defective.

Proposed alteration or restoration

[39]To completely cleanse restore and point the whole of the inside Stonework and repair and make good the groining

To repair all the exterior Stonework that is defective as to Parapets buttresses windows and copings and well point the whole of the open stone joints.

To remove all the red sandstone where defective and substitute good weatherstone in its stead

To take up all the stone pavement leaving such incised slabs as are good and interesting and relay the rest of the space with encaustic tiles[47]

To repair the main timbers of the roof and provide such new timber as will make it thoroughly efficient also new boarding where required and relay with new lead

[46] The pulpit was built in 1849, designed by 'Mr Carpenter' and worked in 'Sheepscombe stone': Welander, *History Art and Architecture*, 439, 448. The designer is presumably Richard Cromwell Carpenter, 1812–1855, architect (*Concise Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford 1930).

[47] This was never done.

To thoroughly restore the ancient painted glass in the Clerestory Windows and to fill the other Windows with new painted glass and restore the iron work.

Probable cost
£3608. 0. 0.

SOUTH TRANSEPT

Description of present State of Arrangement

[39]The interior of this portion of the building is in much the same state as that of the North Transept

The exterior stonework is more dilapidated especially the South front the ashlar [40]of which as well as the window tracery parapets and other moulded work is much perished.

The oldest work is in the best state of preservation

The floor is of stone paving with monumental slabs many of which contained brasses and some are simply incised

The roof is of deal substantially framed and put on about 40 years ago it is covered with large blue ton [?] slate

There are some remains of painted glass but the glazing and ironwork generally is in a very bad state of repair

Proposed alteration or restoration

[39]To cleanse all the Stonework and repairs and point where requisite also to repair the groining.

To thoroughly repair all the external stonework where perished and well point [40]all the joints

To remove the monuments now blocking up the approach to the chapel on the east side and throw open the chapel

To pave the floor with Encaustic Tiles[48] leaving the incised slabs and other interesting portions

To make such general repairs as are acquired to the roof and take out defective slates

To restore and fill the windows with painted glass on the same principle as that already pointed out for the North Transept and reinstate the ironwork

Probable cost
£3674. 0. 0.

CHOIR AISLES AND TRIFORIUM

Description of present State of Arrangement

[40]The Stonework internally is in good condition excepting for the lime washes. The groining has in several parts cracked and the plastering is generally in bad condition

[48] This was never done.

The original windows have been removed and some of a later date probably about 1450 and some earlier inserted they have a good effect inside and the round arches have been cut up in a most unsightly manner

The Stonework on the outside is much perished as to cornices parapets windows and buttresses

The floor is of stone on the lower floor and of bricks in the Triforium[49]

[41]The Roofs are in bad order the rafters rotted off against the walls in many places and propped up on the side walls

The boarding and lead work is in very bad state of repair As also the glazing and Ironwork

Proposed alteration or restoration

[40]To repair all defective Stonework and thoroughly cleanse and point the whole of the interior and make good the groins.

To reinstate the outer arch of the windows as originally built which will much improve the external effect and take but little of the light from the interior

To repair all the external stonework of the Cornices Parapets windows and buttresses

To lay the whole of the floors with Encaustic tiles[50]

[41]To take off & reconstruct the roofs finding such new timber as is required

To provide new boarding and leadwork—To fill the Windows of the aisles with painted glass and those of the Triforium with flowered quarries and borders and restore the Ironwork

Probable cost

£2772. 0. 0.

THE FOUR CHAPELS SURROUNDING THE CHOIR ON THE NORTH AND SOUTH SIDES

Description of present State of Arrangement

[41]The Stonework of these in the interior is in good condition but covered with washes

The groins have settled in several places and the plastering is very defective

The chapel towards the East on the South side has a settlement outwards which appears still inclined to go further

The other chapel on the South side is used as a vestry the entrance to which from the South Transept has been stopped up by a large monument

The[re] are handsome reredoses niches and Piscinas in these chapels both above and below on the Ground floor and in the Triforium the floors are of old tiles and stone in bad condition

The Stonework on the outside is perished more or less in all the chapels in the windows parapets and pinnacles. Later windows have also been inserted here [42]and the arches cut away in the same manner as in the aisles

[49] The brick floor of the tribune gallery was installed in the 17th century with bricks from Worcester kilns: Welander, *History Art and Architecture*, 373.

[50] This was never done.

The Gallery commonly called the Whispering Gallery is in indifferent repair especially as to the stone roof

The Roofs are generally as regards timber boarding and leadwork in bad condition

The glazing and ironwork in the windows in which are a few remains of painted Glass are in a bad state of repair

Proposed alteration or restoration

[41]To cleanse and repair the stonework of the interior—to repair and make good the groins where settled and reinstate the plastering

When the soil is removed from the exterior the walls of the Eastern Chapel on the South side to be carefully examined and underpinned if found desirable or such other measures taken as may then seem required to ensure stability—(the cracks in the walls have been pointed to ascertain if there is any further tendency to open)

To remove the present wooden floor from the chapel now used as a vestry remove the monument and throw open the chapel to the South Transept

To remove all the old floors and relay with Encaustic Tiles

To repair the whole of the external stonework and well point the joints

[42]To reinstate the external arches over the windows and make good the jambs

To recover the Galleries with stone as of old and make good the sides and main arches

To take off the present Roofs and substitute new ones with new boarding and lead work

To fill the windows with painted glass restoring as accurately as possible existing remains

Probable cost
£2046. 0. 0.

THE LADY CHAPEL

Description of present State of Arrangement

[42]The whole of this building as regards the interior is in good general repair though some portions have been cut away to make room for large monuments

This chapel was in part formerly painted but is now coated with lime wash

The Reredos which must have been very splendid is much mutilated the Sedilia are handsome and in good preservation

The external stonework is generally in bad condition particularly on the South side—the parapet has been lowered and the cusped heads removed and the pinnacles are all modern and incorrect except in two instances near the choir

[43]The old floor remains in various parts sufficient to shew the original design it is much worn and flat stones of all sort are inserted

There is a stone seat on the North and South sides of the chapel and parts of the choir fittings converted into seats running from East to West on each side[51]

[51] A few reading desks in the Lady Chapel have been cut down from the 18th-century choir fittings. It is a surprise to see they were in the Lady Chapel as early as 1855.

The Glazing and ironwork are bad—In the East and other windows there are remains of painted glass

The Roof is in better condition than any other roof about the building The timbers are generally strong and good requiring only bolting & repairing[52]

The boarding is defective in several parts and also the lead work. The Roof of the Leanto between the Choir and Lady Chapel is very dilapidated & covered with stone tiles

Proposed alteration or restoration

[42]To restore all defective work in the interior and well cleanse the whole of the walls groins ribs &[c]—To repair the Sedilia and all other portions mutilated and defaced by the monuments

To leave the Reredos as at present any successful restoration being almost impossible and the remains of the painting being so interesting and uncommon[53] that it would be most undesirable to attempt removal or restoration. It is proposed therefore to arrange curtains or drapery in front of the Reredos in such way as to form an appropriate back ground to the Altar

To repair all the outside Stonework and substitute pinnacles and battlements of the old design in lieu of those now on the Walls

[43]To restore according to the old arrangement and patterns the tile floor

To remove the present seats the old portions of which will be used in the new choir fittings and arrange others according to the plan

To fill all the windows with painted glass using in this case the same great care in the restoration of the existing remains and to put curtains across the screens dividing the Lady Chapel from the choir in order to obtain great warmth for the services in this part of the building in cold weather

To bolt and repair the roof where desirable to take up and remove the boarding and lead where defective and relay with new

To construct a new Roof for the Leanto and cover it with lead

Probable cost
£7964. 0. 0

THE TOWER

Description of present State of Arrangement

[43]The Tower stands true and well and the Stonework both of the interior and exterior is in excellent general condition better perhaps than any other part of the cathedral though repair is requisite in some places

The pinnacles are in many parts much perished and have been patched up with Roman cement

[44]The main timbers of the roof and floors are good, but the flooring boards and boards under the lead require repair. The lead is much out of order.

[52] The Lady Chapel still has one of the last surviving and best preserved medieval roofs see Heighway, 'Archaeology of Gloucester Cathedral' (1996), op cit in note 35.

[53] Scott also mentions medieval painting on the Lady chapel reredos; alas in spite of their efforts the painting has apparently not survived subsequent cleaning.

Proposed alteration or restoration

43To repair the defective portions of the Stonework

44To fur up where necessary the roof timbers and make good and to take up the old and relay with new lead.

To repair the ironwork where requisite and the flooring boards and boards on the roof carrying the lead work.

Probable cost
£880. 0. 0.

THE CLOISTERS

Description of present State of Arrangement

44The Stonework of the interior and exterior of the Cloisters is very dilapidated and the walls forming the inside of the quadrangle lean outwards—the thrust exercised by the groining was the original cause of this, added to subsequent defective drainage, and the groins consequently shew openings proportionate to the incline of the walls—On the west walk the Stonework of the Groins has been unjudiciously screwed to the timber of the roof excepting in this latter case, no further settlement need be apprehended if proper care be taken

The floor is of stone slabs and is very unsightly and irregular

The Glazing and Iron work is in bad order and the lower compartments of the windows and the windows in the Carols are filled with bricks and plastered on the inside

The roof as regards the Timber generally bad and propped up in many places

The lead work is the best round the Cathedral

The drainage here is very defective both as to the way the water is carried from the Roofs and from the gutter itself

Proposed alteration or restoration

44To repair the whole of the Stonework of the exterior to lay paving upon good concrete as a security against damp between the buttresses and to carry the water off by a gutter course as already in part laid opposite the window restored and filled with stained glass as a memorial to the late Dr Evans—To cleanse and thoroughly restore and point all the inside stone work—In particular to take down and rebuild that portion of the cloister in the west walk where the stonework is secured with iron to the roof timbers

To lay Encaustic tiles and monumental brasses in the floor

To open all the windows and fill them with painted glass in continuation of the series already commenced

To repair all the Timbers of the Roof where necessary & the lead work also & to provide proper shoots and ironwork for the gutters

Probable cost
£12353. 0. 0

THE LIBRARY FORMERLY THE CHAPTER HOUSE

Description of present State of Arrangement

[45]The Interior Stonework is in good order but covered with washes—The Roof is uneven and the plastering cracked—The Stonework on the outside is in some parts defective

The floor is of oak carried on sleeper walls resting on the original tile floor, which is in some parts very perfect

The windows on the west side are fitted up with modern wood mullions. The Glazing throughout is in bad order—The Roof is covered with Stone tile—The timbers have been repaired and tied with ironwork—and the rafters furred up, the whole is in a state requiring considerable repair

Proposed alteration or restoration

[45]To cleanse and thoroughly repair the whole of the Stone work of the interior & exterior to repair the groining where required

To remove the present oak and reinstate the encaustic tile floor[54]

To remove the wooden mullions from the windows and restore the glazing and ironwork throughout

To repair the roof over the whole building using such new timber as is necessary and recover with the best stone tile

To fit up with appropriate Book Cases the spaces under the arcade running on the North and South sides of the room.[55]

Probable cost
£1127. 0. 0.

THE TREASURY AND PRESENT CHAPTER ROOM AND THE SCHOOL ROOM FORMERLY THE LIBRARY

Description of present State of Arrangement

[45]This is a building of peculiar form erected over the Slyp previously described as communicating with the Crypt it is at present inconvenient in all ways and badly lighted—the Chapter room[56] has two very ugly windows and a modern brick chimney which tend much to spoil the view of the building as seen from the new garden

The roof of the school room is an open roof of late date[57] the timbers have been furred up and strengthened and it is covered with stone tile the whole building is in a very dilapidated condition

[54] Mostly replaced by new tiles by Godwin of Hereford and the old ones installed in the choir gallery south-east chapel.

[55] The Library was moved from the Chapter House back to its original medieval room above the east slype in 1858: S M Eward, *A Catalogue of Gloucester Cathedral Library* (1972), xiv.

[56] Now known as the Canons Vestry.

[57] 15th century.

Proposed alteration or restoration

[45]To make an alteration in these buildings as shewn on the plan so as to provide good vestries for the use of the canons and minor canons of the church, together with a room for muniments –

To arrange the room formerly used as a school room in such manner as may be found most serviceable for other requirements of the Cathedral

To repair all the internal and external Stonework fur up and strengthen the timbers of the roof where required and recover it with the best stone tile.—To remove the present windows of the Chapter Room and insert others in character with the building to open the [46]windows in the School Room and reglaze them

to open a door[58] from the stone staircase into the Chapter House or the cloisters as may be thought most desirable and make such other general repairs as are required

Probable cost

£737. 0. 0.

MONUMENTS

Description of present State of Arrangement

[46]With the exception of the monumental slabs in which originally there were brasses the monuments generally are in good condition considering their age

That of Edward 2nd is made of Purbeck marble in the lower part and of freestone above. The Purbeck marble is much decayed and some of the upper portions of the monument are loose and in danger of falling

Proposed alteration or restoration

[46]To refix portions that are loose and likely to perish and take such other precautions as will ensure the proper protection of the monuments

WARMING

Description of present State of Arrangement

[46]Messrs Haden of Trowbridge have been consulted with reference to the warming of the building and they have furnished the accompanying report on the subject

Proposed alteration or restoration

[46]To carry out that portion of the report relating to the Chapter House Vestries and Lady Chapel as being most required & comparatively easy of execution, though great consideration will be requisite as to the best way of arranging the apparatus generally so as in no way to disfigure the fabric itself

[58] The present door into the Library opens off the stair in the north transept north-west turret. The two other library doors—one into the Chapter house via a stair-tower, one into the east slype via another spiral stair, are not now used.

LIGHTENING CONDUCTORS

Description of present State of Arrangement

[47]There are no lightning conductors throughout the building

Proposed alteration or restoration

[47]To adopt the principle of Sir Snow Harris with reference to this for the whole building

SUMMARY OF PROBABLE COST

	£. s. d.
Levels drainage and laying out of Green	550. -. -.
The Crypt Slyp &[c]	533. -. -.
South Porch	1787. -. -.
The Nave	8228. -. -.
South Aisle	4125. -. -.
North Aisle	3465. -. -.
The Choir	12386. -. -.
North Transept	3608. -. -.
South Transept	3674. -. -.
The Choir Aisles	2772. -. -.
The Choir Chapels	2046. -. -.
The Ladye Chapel	7964. -. -.
The Tower	880. -. -.
The Cloisters	12353. -. -.
The Chapter House	1127. -. -.
Treasury and Sacristies	737. -. -.
	£66235. -. -.[59]

NB Of the foregoing Estimates £18000 is calculated as the cost of restoring the glass

[48]Gloucester 1st June 1863

Since the foregoing report was made the following portions of the Restorations therein enumerated have been partially or wholly undertaken at an outlay of about £10000 viz

[59] The equivalent total in 2001 would have been £4,451,450: source: House of Commons Library Research Paper 02/44 p 21.

The Drainage of the fabric removal of soil and laying out of ground repairs to Crypt and concreting floor	934. -. -.
The Cleaning and repairing of the Nave	1000. -. -.
Restoration of the West Facade of Nave	1180. -. -.
Restoration of North side of Nave	200. -. -.
South Aisle Windows externally & cleaning internally totally excepting one compartment	930. -. -.
North Aisle New Roof and Stonework	760. -. -.
The Choir East End inside outside and glass	2000. -. -.
The Choir South side	206. -. -.
The South Transept	200 -. -.
The Ladye Chapel	105. -. -.
The Tower	75. -. -.
The Cloisters	200. -. -.
Chapter Room Library and Sacristies	2220. -. -.
	£10010. -. -.

"Thomas Fulljames"

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to the Cathedral Chapter for permission to reproduce the contents of their Chapter Act Book. I would like to thank the Cathedral Librarian, Lowinger Maddison, for his comments and assistance.

XVI

Early Allotments in Gloucestershire

JOHN LOOSLEY

ON MONDAY 30th September 1833 Mr G.W. Perry, travelling agent for the Labourer's Friend Society, met a number of gentlemen at The George Inn, Stroud to discuss the possibility of holding a public meeting to promote allotment schemes.[1] There followed several meetings at various parts of the county during the next two weeks resulting in a large number of schemes being introduced. This essay will examine who was involved in the renewed interest in the allotment schemes, the type and size of the allotments and their location in Gloucestershire.

At this stage it is advisable to define garden allotments. They were regular plots from ¼ to 1 acre in size, in a larger field and often divided by ditches but not walls or fences. Other forms of popular landholding included potato grounds which were temporarily sub-let by farmers on their fallow land and the farmer ploughed and manured them, cow pastures where the poor were provided with dairy cows and a collective pasture on which to keep them and smallholdings. Also poor allotments which was land allotted for the maintenance of the poor following enclosure and rented to farmers or smallholders, the rent of which was used for the benefit of the poor.

Before 1830 there were only a small number of garden allotments in Gloucestershire. The earliest recorded (possibly in the whole of the British Isles) was in Long Newnton, near Tetbury which at that time was in Wiltshire. Thomas Estcourt was the principal landowner and the following is an extract from Hammond's *The Village Labourer*[2]

> ... a striking instance of successful arable allotments is described by a Mr Estcourt in the Reports of the Society for the Bettering of the Condition of the Poor. The scene was the parish of Long Newnton in Wilts, which contained one hundred and forty poor persons, chiefly agricultural labourers, distributed in thirty-two families, and the year was 1800. The price of provisions was very high, and 'though all had a very liberal allowance from the poor rate' the whole village was plunged in debt and misery. From this hopeless plight the parish was rescued by an allotment scheme that Mr Estcourt established and described. Each cottager who applied was allowed to rent a small quantity of land at the rate of £1 12s. an acre on a fourteen years' lease: the quantity of land let to an applicant depended on the number in his family, with a maximum of one and a half acres: the tenant was to forfeit his holding if he received poor relief other than medical relief. The offer was greedily accepted, two widows with large families and four very old and infirm persons

[1] *Gloucester Journal (GJ)* 5 Oct 1833.
[2] J.L. & Barbara Hammond, *The Village Labourer* (1911) p.153.

> being the only persons who did not apply for a lease. A loan of £44 was divided among the tenants to free them from their debts and to give them a fresh start.....The results as recorded in 1805 were astonishing. None of the tenants had received any poor relief: all the conditions had been observed: the loan of £44 had long been repaid and the poor rate had fallen from £212 16s. to £12 6s.

It appears that these allotments were established before 1795 as Arthur Young, after a meeting with Thomas Estcourt in 1795, wrote,[3]

> In the parishes of Ashley.... Newnton....and Shipton Moyne.....the landlord (leasing) every cottager fifteen perches of ground enclosed in one large piece, containing acres sufficient in that proportion for every cottage....the consequence was ...very beneficial; for though the poor had been for years a dissipated, idle, drunken set of poachers., yet, with the assistance of shutting up an alehouse and repairing their cottages, they are entirely changed, and are now a decent, orderly, industrious set.

Thomas Estcourt also established allotments at that time in Ashley and Shipton Moyne and these continued in use.[4] Although enthusiastically promoted by the Reverend Demainbray in Wiltshire and the Bishop of Bath and Wells and later Captain Scobell in Somerset, there is evidence of only a few garden allotments being established in Gloucestershire until the 1830s. These were at Whelford in 1800, Kempsford in 1813 or before and Stroud in 1821 (Fig 1). It is interesting to note that with the exception of the Stroud allotments, whose origin is unknown, these are all on the Wiltshire border probably due to the influence of Thomas Estcourt and Reverend Demainbray.

In 1830 the Labourer's Friend Society was formed in London by Benjamin Wills, a London surgeon, who, since 1827, had been meeting with like minded friends to discuss ways of improving the living standards of the poor. The society was dedicated to the promotion of allotments across the nation. It rapidly acquired influential support: within two years of its existence it had obtained the patronage of William IV, whilst on the platform at the society's first annual general meeting at Exeter Hall on 18 February 1832 were four noblemen, two bishops and eight MPs.[5]

The society published a monthly magazine initially called *Facts and Illustrations* but in 1832 renamed the *Labourer's Friend Magazine* which described the benefits of the allotment system and provided advice on the cultivation of allotments. The society published annually a list of subscribers and those making donations and it is interesting to note that the only subscribers/donors before 1834 from Gloucestershire were Mr Browne of Cirencester, W.H. Hyett, Esq. MP of Painswick and Rev Sir George Prevost of Chalford (later Archdeacon and Hon. Canon of Gloucester and incumbent of Stinchcombe).

It has been argued (Burchardt 2002) that the main reason for the sudden interest in allotments was due to the Captain Swing Riots of 1830 and there is evidence in a report in the Labourer's Friend Magazine of Samuel Lysons telling the

[3] Young, A. *A Good Method of assisting the Poor, Annals of Agriculture and others useful Arts.* XXV (1796) pp.530–1.

[4] See a dissertation by Jeremy H. Williams, Queens College dated January 1981 in the Gloucestershire Record Office (GRO) ref ROL G4.

[5] Proceedings of the Labourer's Friend Society (LFS) 1832, 3, 8.

Fig 1 Map of allotments in Summer Street, Stroud c. 1825 (Glos. Record Office)

Worcestershire Labourer's Friend Society with respect to his allotments at Rodmarton in 1844, *the attention of my late father and myself was drawn to the subject of the allotment system at the period of agricultural riots in 1830–1.*[6] The main areas in Gloucestershire affected by the Swing Riots were Tetbury, Fairford and some Cotswold parishes so this may have been partly the reason for allotments being established in this area of the county although as will be seen many were established in the manufacturing areas of Stroud and Wotton-under-Edge.

The people mentioned in the newspaper report[7] on the public meeting, following the earlier meeting on 30 September, which took place in the Town Hall, Stroud on Friday 4th October 1833 were W.H. Hyett, who was already a supporter of the Labourer's Friend Society, Colonel Kingscote, Joseph Watts, owner of Stroud Brewery, William Stanton M.P. and magistrate, William Lewis woollen cloth manufacturers, Major R. Snow of Rodborough, C.O. Cambridge and Rev. Mr Powell.

The next mention of a meeting with Mr Perry was on Thursday 17th October 1833 at the house of Captain Slade R.N. in Uley. Captain Slade was the agent for Colonel Kingscote in Uley and he had already subscribed to the Labourer's Friend Society in 1832 when living in Wellington, Somerset. This meeting was attended by a large number of the "lower orders" to whom Mr Perry explained the object of the Society

[6] *Labourer's Friend Magazine (LFM)* clvii (1844), p.50.
[7] *GJ* 12 Oct 1833.

> as being the moral and physical improvement in the labourer's condition, through the medium of his own industry, a bank being afforded him in his allotment for deposits of that portion of his capital (his labour) which would otherwise be lost to himself and society.[8]

The Rev. M.W. Wilkinson, rector of Uley, Colonel Kingscote and O. Williams Esq. offered a total of 33 acres of land for allotments.

The following day a further meeting was held at the Town Hall, Wotton-under-Edge, chaired by Southgate Austin Esq. Mr Perry again addressed those attending and following his address Mr Smith, steward to Lord Segrave, stated that if the Churchwardens and Overseers approved the scheme then he was authorised to allot either waste lands or if that was insufficient, cultivated land for allotments.[9] The result of this meeting was that a vestry meeting was held on 21 November 1833

> for the purpose of taking into consideration the expediency of inclosing the several piece of waste and common lands in this parish called Bradley Green and to cultivate and improve the same for the use and benefit of the parish and the poor persons within the same or to let part or parts of such common or waste lands to industrious inhabitants to be by them occupied and cultivated on their own account.[10]

The last meeting recorded was on Tuesday 29 October at the Town Hall, Cirencester where G.G. Blackwell, Esq. of Ampney Park took the chair. As in the previous meetings Mr Perry explained the objects of the Labourer's Friend Society and the arguments in favour of the scheme and several members of the audience spoke in support including Charles Lawrence Esq. who detailed the good effects of the allotments on the estates of his brother William Lawrence in Brimpsfield and Syde. Lord Sherborne, whilst excusing his absence, wrote in support of the scheme as did Rev. H. Cripps of Preston, Rev. W. Moore of Brimpsfield and other clergymen. A committee was formed, consisting of G.G. Blackwell of Ampney Park, Charles Lawrence an attorney, George Newmarch and J.R. Mullings both solicitors, W.C. Bowly a miller, Devereux Bowly a banker, Thomas Brown and R.J. Brown wine merchants, C.B. Warner a surgeon and the Rev. Thomas Parry to assist in furthering the scheme in Cirencester and its neighbourhood.[11]

A year later the Gloucester Journal reported that allotments had been established in Wotton-under-Edge, Tetbury, Didmarton, Oldbury, Nympsfield, Uley, Horsley, Alderley, Kingscote, Newington Bagpath, Kingswood and other neighbouring parishes, under the fostering care and liberal patronage of his Grace the Duke of Beaufort, Lords Segrave and Ducie, the Hon. H. Moreton MP, Colonel Kingscote (Uley and Kingscote), R.B. Hale Esq. (Alderley), S. Austin Esq. (Wotton-under-Edge), the Rev. M.F.T. Stephens (Uley), the Rev. J. Frampton (Tetbury) , the Rev. W. Wilkinson (Uley), the Rev. S. Lloyd (Horsley), Jacob Wood Esq. (Syde) and other friends.[12]

[8] *GJ* 26 Oct 1833.
[9] *GJ* 26 Oct 1833.
[10] GRO Vestry Minutes P379 VE 2/1.
[11] *GJ* 2 Nov 1833.
[12] *GJ* 29 Nov 1834.

As a result of the surge of interest in the allotment system from the early 1830s with the formation of the Labourer's Friend Society in 1830 and the passing of 3 acts of parliament in 1831/2 allowing parishes to enclose up to 50 acres of waste land and Crown land for use as allotments together with the enclosure of fuel land a number of landowners in the Cotswolds were offering allotments to their tenants. Chandos Leigh let allotments to labourers in Longborough and Adlestrop[13] and Lord Sherborne had started allotment schemes which by 1835 were so successful that he was extending it to his estates in Ireland.[14] In 1832 at Broadwell the churchwardens drew up regulations for the cultivation of 41 allotments[15] and at Little Rissington at a vestry meeting on 22 February 1832 it was decided to inclose a plot of heath land, previously used for the supply of fuel for the poor, and divide it into 36 allotments of 1 ¼ chains (24 perches).[16] As already seen at the meeting in Cirencester, William Lawrence had been providing allotments in Brimpsfield and Syde since 1832. In his diary Reverend Witts recorded on 2 December 1834

> 'Dispatched a packet with a letter to the Bishop of Gloucester, containing Mr Lawrence's little pamphlet on the management of cottage gardens, with a copy of the rules on which the allotment systems is here conducted (See Fig 2). His Lordship proposes this autumn to assign a few acres of land close to Gloucester to poor families to be cultivated by spade husbandry'.[17]

It is interesting to note that the Bishop of Gloucester had been appointed a vice president of the Labourers' Friend Society in 1833 and an advertisement was placed in the Gloucester Journal on 4 October 1834 inviting labouring men with families to apply for allotments not exceeding ¼ acre at Kingsholm.

In Winchcombe at a vestry meeting on 26 May 1832 it was agreed that the parish officers should rent 16 acres of land in the hamlet of Sudeley Tenements from Mr Nathan Charles Griffiths at £2 an acre and that it should be divided into plots of between 1 and 2 chains (16 and 32 perches) and let to industrious poor parishioners at not less than 4s. nor more than 6s. per chain.[18]

In the agricultural areas the labourers had the benefit of gardens adjoining their cottages and the landowners generally allowed their tenants extra land in the form of allotments to make up the total size of land to ¼ acre. In Baunton near Cirencester in 1842 it was calculated that there was 1 acre 2 roods and 30 perches of garden ground attached to cottages so a further 3 acres 2 roods and 10 perches would be required to make up the quantity to ¼ acre for each of the 19 tenants.[19] (See Fig 3). This land was taken from two farms by the owners Miss Masters and Lord Carteret and given to the tenants.

[13] *LFM* Mar 1835 pp.48–9.
[14] *GJ* 31 Jan 1835 p.3.
[15] GRO P61 CW 2/1.
[16] GRO P269 CH 1.
[17] *The Diary of a Cotswold Parson* edited by David Verey (1986) p.102.
[18] GRO P368/1 VE 2/4.
[19] GRO D674b P12.

RULES AND CONDITIONS,

UNDER WHICH THE

GARDENS IN BRIMPSFIELD AND SYDE

ARE OCCUPIED.

1. The year's tenancy to determine in all cases, on the 15th day of November, and to continue from year to year, until the same shall be determined by a notice in writing by the landlord, or his steward, or the tenant; such notice to be given on or before the 1st of August in any year, excepting only in the case provided for in rule the 8th.
2. When such notice is given, the incoming tenant is to be at liberty to enter immediately on such parts of the garden as are in course, to prepare for and plant the green crops for the following winter.
3. A going off tenant to be at liberty to remove any fruit trees he may have planted, or to receive the value of them as the landlord or his steward shall direct.
4. The rent to be paid as follows—one half on the 24th of June, and the other half on the 29th of September, in every year.
5. The tenant to keep at least one pig, to manure the garden in regular course, and to crop and manage it to the satisfaction of the landlord or his steward.
6. If the tenant shall underlet his garden, or any part of it, the tenancy shall be thereby determined, at whatever time of the year this shall happen.
7. No plough to be used in the garden, which is to be cultivated entirely by the spade.
8. If the year's rent shall not be paid on the 29th of September, the landlord shall be entitled to take possession of and sell the crops, and to determine the tenancy on the 15th of November following, by ten days notice in writing, to be given by him, or his steward, at any time after the 29th of September.

CAUTION.

Mr. LAWRENCE's object in granting these gardens, is the encouragement of the industrious and deserving labourer, therefore any tenant who is guilty of any offences against the law, will be deprived of his garden.

T. P. BAILY, PRINTER, CIRENCESTER.

Fig 2 Rules for Brimpsfield & Syde Allotments c. 1823 (Bingham Library, Cirencester)

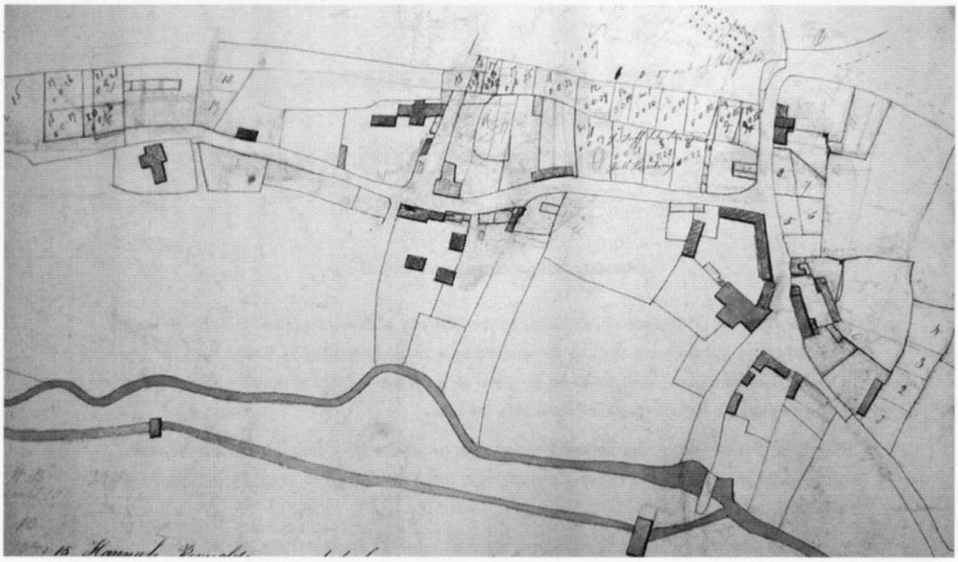

Fig 3 Map of Baunton Field Gardens 1841 (Glos. Record Office)

SIZE OF ALLOTMENTS

The size of allotment let under Act of Parliament 2 Will IV c42 (for the conversion of fuel allotments into gardens for the poor) was set at no larger than 1 acre and no smaller than 1/4 acre but the other two acts passed in the early 1830s set no limit on plot size. The only allotment scheme identified in Gloucestershire in the 1830s let under the 1832 act was at Little Rissington where the allotments below the minimum size were allowed.[20] Most other allotment schemes were provided by private landowners and it appears that in rural agricultural areas the recognised size of plot was generally limited to a maximum of 1/4 acre. In Longborough and Adlestrop the plots were up from 25 to 40 perches (160 perches equals 1 acre)[21] and in Baunton and Preston a sufficient amount of land to make up a maximum of 1/4 acre when added to the size of the garden[22]. In Broadwell the sizes varied between 1.14 chains (18 perches) and 3.75 chains (60 perches) with the average plot size of 1.9 chains (30 perches), less than 1/4 acre (40 perches)[23]. The national average for 1830–49 was 61.49 perches.[24]

In the manufacturing areas the size of plots was sometimes much larger. In Uley there were a total of 93 allotments of 20, 30, 40, 60 and 80 poles (perches), but only 2 plots of 20 poles.[25] However in testimony to W.A. Miles, Assistant Commissioner for the Inquiry on the Conditions of the Hand-loom Weavers, Captain Slade gave examples of weavers renting 1/2 and 3/4 acre allotments. In Stroud, again in evidence

[20] GRO P269 CH 1.
[21] *LFM* Mar 1835 p.48–9.
[22] GRO D674b P12.
[23] GRO P61 CW 2/1.
[24] Jeremy Burchardt, *The Allotment Movement in England, 1793–1873*, 2002 p.253.
[25] *LFM* Dec 1834 pp.187–9.

to W.A. Miles, several weavers stated that they rented allotments of ¼ acre from Mr Watts and in Horsley the size was stated as 40 perches.[26]

RENTS

The following is a table of rents charged for the allotments identified in Gloucestershire in the 1830s (National average rent per acre during 1830–49 was 44s. 5d.)[27]

Place	No allotments	Size of allotment (perches)	Rent per allotment	Rent per acre
Adlestrop	16		5s 7d to 7s 6d	30s
Brimpsfield & Syde	53	30	4s	21s
Broadwell	41		6s 10d to 22s 6d	60s
Horsley	66	40	9s 6d	37s
Little Rissington	36		11s 6d	77s
Longborough	40		5s to 7s 6d	30s
Preston	18	31		53s
Sherborne				24s
Shipton Moyne	33		10s to 20s	40s
Stroud		40	10s	40s
Tetbury	34			
Uley	93	20 to 80		28s to 80s
Winchcombe				40s to 60s

CULTIVATION OF ALLOTMENTS

There were a number of regulations made for the cultivation of allotments which sometimes varied from place to place. The first, universally accepted, was that the land was not to be ploughed but to be cultivated by spade husbandry. Examples of this are in the rules in Wickwar and in Brimpsfield and Syde. The amount of manure to be applied to the land was often specified as, in evidence to W.A. Miles, a witness from Horsley stated

> 12 to 16 loads of manure were applied per acre, the manure to purchase is worth 2s 6d to 3s a load and if the holder doesn't manure he is liable to be dismissed[28]

and in Broadwell the conditions on letting allotments included

> each tenant shall breast plow[an implement pushed manually through the top layer of soil to remove turf and weeds for burning before cultivation] his, her or their

[26] W.A. Miles, *Report on the Condition of the Handloom Weavers* (1839) p.525.
[27] Jeremy Burchardt, op. cit. p.118.
[28] W.A. Miles, *Report on the Condition of the Handloom Weavers* (1839) p.525.

> respective lot, and also put at and after the rate of ten cart loads of good dung or compost on each acre before any crops be planted thereon. But if any tenant cannot provide the said dung or compost he or she will be required to put three cart loads of road scrapings on each chain in lieu thereof.[29]

The main crops were potatoes, grain and vegetables. Captain Slade of Uley, in a letter to Mr Perry of the Labourer's Friend Society, writes[30]

> In great consideration of the necessities of the people, and to assist them up the hill the first year, Col. Kingscote most kindly supplied them with nearly 200 sacks of potatoes for seed, on two or three months' credit; these with the exception of a very few shillings, have all been paid for.

Hitchens, a weaver from Stroud states *he has ¼ acre.....he found this land very useful and has produced 10 and 12 sacks of potatoes.*

Another weaver from Stroud, Nathaniel Clissold states that *he produces cabbages and other vegetables which he sells and purchases other provisions for his family with the money.*

In Horsley the allotments were 40 perches in size and half would produce 12 sacks of potatoes and the other half 4 to 5 bushels of wheat.[31]

In 1843 William Miles of Kings Weston House, Henbury in evidence to the Select Committee on Labouring Poor (Allotments of Land) stated that he came to reside in Gloucestershire six years ago and gave allotments in 3 parishes to the labouring poor.

> I went to the garden of one of the first men I saw; I inquired what benefits had accrued to him as to the sale of vegetables, and at the same time, as to supplying his family with food from his allotment; he stated to me that he occupied a rood of land, that for that rood he paid £1 a year; that he had sold onions last year to the value of 24s; carrots to the value of 8s ; and his wife had sold gooseberries and currants to the value of 2s 6d; that he had a wife and five children, and that he had provided them from the allotment with every description of culinary vegetable, with all their potatoes; and had only purchased for the year one sack of potatoes...[32]

In 1845 it was reported that Earl Ducie had introduced the allotment system in Wickwar and the rules included

> that in the first year, two thirds of the half acre may be planted with potatoes, but afterwards only one third will be allowed to be so planted—the potato land to be always manured—only one third to be planted with any kind of corn or beans—corn and beans not to be grown on the same land two years in succession.[33]

It was common to keep a pig and in Brimpsfield and Syde it was a requirement for the tenant to keep at least one pig (see figure 2) and in Uley Captain Slade stated

> from the same generous source [Col. Kingscote], five or six waggon loads of poles have been given them for pigstyes. Also premiums in pigs and tools to six men, who

[29] GRO P61 CW 2/1.
[30] *LFM* February 1835.
[31] W.A. Miles, *Report on the Condition of the Handloom Weavers* (1839) p.526.
[32] Report of The Select Committee on Labouring Poor, Parliamentary Papers 1843 VII.
[33] *GJ* 3 May 1845 p.3.

had worked their allotments the best. In addition, several of the most deserving have had money lent them to enable them to purchase a pig[34]

Prizes were awarded to encourage the good cultivation of allotments. In Broadwell a first prize of 5s was awarded to the best crop of vegetables with a second prize of 3s and a third of 2s.[35]

BENEFITS OF ALLOTMENTS

It is evident that the reason that landowners embraced the allotment system was that it enabled them to control the behaviour of their tenants. William Lawrence in Brimpsfield and Syde stated that

> his object in granting these gardens, is the encouragement of the industrious and deserving labourer, therefore any tenant who is guilty of any offences against the law, will be deprived of his garden (see figure 2)

Mr Hubbard of Nailsworth said that the men who have been in public houses *sotting* away their time, may now be seen with their children at honest work.[36]

Captain Slade of Uley stated that

> Previous to the allotment system, drunkenness was very prevalent, men used to go by the chapel-house roaring in gangs. If a man who has an allotment proves a drunkard, he is dismissed; and the moral condition of the working man is much improved.[37]

Often the tenants were required to attend church on Sunday and Earl Ducie whilst stating that no distinction was made as to the religious creed of the occupiers stated that everyone was expected to attend some place of worship on the Sabbath day.[38] In Marshfield in 1865 every occupier had to attend a place of worship at least once every Lord's Day and send his children to Sunday school.[39]

CONCLUSIONS

The 1830's allotment movement in England mainly took place in the rural areas where there had been considerable unrest following low wages and high food prices. In Gloucestershire the same pattern is seen in the Cotswolds but following the visit of Mr Perry of the Labourer's Friend Society to the manufacturing districts of the county the men of influence in those districts seized the opportunity to provide relief for the unemployed or partially employed weavers and clothworkers; the result of the decline of the cloth industry in the Stroud and Wotton-under-Edge areas. The

[34] *LFM* February 1835.
[35] GRO P61 CW 2/1.
[36] W.A. Miles, *Report on the Condition of the Handloom Weavers* (1839) p.524.
[37] Ibid.
[38] *GJ* 3 May 1845 p.3.
[39] *Marshfield a history of the last hundred years—1957*, ed. Mrs Buckley.

benefits were immediately apparent but further research is required to establish the life of these early allotments as most are now lost, superceeded by parish allotments in the latter part of the 19th and early 20th century.

APPENDIX

List of subscribers at the meetings held in Gloucestershire in 1833 as reported in the annual accounts of the Labourers' Friend Society with occupation and place added where known.

Wotton-under-Edge

Name	Place	Occupation	Amount of donation/ subscription
Bishop of Gloucester	Gloucester	Bishop	£2–2s-0d
L.S. Austin Esq.	Wotton-under-Edge	Financier & Landowner	10s-0d
Rev. E.H. Battchellor	Boxwell	Clergyman	10s-0d
Col. Kingscote	Kingscote	Landowner	£5–0s-0d
T. Kingscote Esq.	Newington Bagpath	Landowner	£1–0s-0d
Mrs Kingscote	Kingscote		10s-0d
W. Long Esq.	Kingswood	Cloth manufacturer	10s-0d
Rev. J[S]. Lloyd	Horsley	Clergyman	10s-0d
Mr Strong	Wotton-under-Edge	Independent	10s-0d
Lady Le Poer Trench	Kingscote		10s-0d
Rev. W.H. Wilkinson	Uley	Clergyman	10s-0d
O.W [H]. Williams Esq.	North Nibley	Landowner	£1–0s-0d
W. Woodward Esq.	Wotton-under-Edge	Waggon proprietor	10s-0d

Note the Bishop of Gloucester was elected a vice president of the Labourer's Friend Society at the annual meeting of the Society in March 1834

Stroud

Name	Place	Occupation	Amount of donation/ subscription
R. Boulton Esq.	Leatherhead, Surrey	Independent	10s-0d
Rev J. Burder	Stroud	Clergyman	10s-0d
W. Capel Esq.	The Grove, Painswick	Landowner	£5–0s-0d
E. Dalton Esq.	Nailsworth	Landowner	10s-0d
Rev. J. Elliott	Randwick	Clergyman	10s-0d
A.R. Frewster Esq.	Nailsworth	Miller	10s-0d
J. Gale Esq.	Cheltenham		10s-0d
J. Grazebrooke Esq.	Stroud	Banker	10s-0d
E. Hallewell	Paradise Wick	Banker	10s-0d
Rev. G.C. Hayward	Nympsfield	Clergyman	10s-0d
Rev. G. Hayward	Frocester	Clergyman	10s-0d
J. Haynes Esq.	Painswick	Surgeon	£1–0s-0d
Rev. H. Hicks	Painswick	Clergyman	10s-0d
Mrs Hicks	Painswick		5s-0d
W. Helmes Esq.	New Mills, Stroud	Cloth Manufacturer	10s-0d
W.H. Hyett Esq.	Painswick	MP	£1–0s-0d
J. Kennaway Esq.	Escot, Honiton, Devon		£1–10s-0d
W. Lloyd Esq.	Avening	Landowner	10s-0d
Hon H. Moreton	Spring Park, Woodchester	Earl Ducie	£5–0s-0d
D. Maclean Esq.	Stanley Mill	Cloth Manufacturer	£1–s-0d
T. Overbury Esq.	Nailsworth	Independent	10s-0d
W. Pallen (Palling?) Esq.	Painswick	Cloth Manufacturer	10s-0d
Jos. Partridge Esq.	Bowbridge Mill, Stroud	Cloth Manufacturer	10s-0d
J. Partridge Esq.	Bowbridge Mill, Stroud	Cloth Manufacturer	10s-0d
R.S. Paul Esq.	Woodchester	Landowner	£5–0s-0d
Rev. W.F. Powell	Stroud	Clergyman	10s-0d
D. Ricardo Esq.	Gatcombe Park, Minchinhampton	Landowner	£5–0s-0d
C. Stephens Esq.	Stanley Mills	Cloth Manufacturer	£1–0s-0d
Rev. M.J. Stephens	Horsley	Clergyman	£1–0s-0d
A. Steedman Esq.	Regent's Park London		10s-0d
J. Watts Esq.	Stroud	Brewer	£5–0s-0d
H. Wyatt Esq.	Farmhill, Stroud	Banker	£5–0s-0d
R. Wyatt Esq.	Stroud	Attorney	10s-0d
Mrs Admiral Young	Horsley	Landowner	10s-0d

Cirencester

Name	Place	Occupation	Amount of donation/ subscription
Rt. Hon Lord Sherborne			£3–3s-0d
Rev. E. Ashe	Driffield	Clergyman	10s-6d
G. Blackwell Esq.	Ampney Park	Landowner	£2–2s-0d
D. Bowly Esq.	Cirencester	Banker	£2–2s-0d
W.C. Bowly	Cirencester	Miller	10s-0d
T. Brown Esq.	Cirencester	Wine & Sprit Merchant	10s-0d
T.C. Brown Esq.	Cirencester	Wine & Spirit Merchant	10s-0d
R. Brown Esq.	Cirencester	Wine & Spirit Merchant	10s-0d
J. Cripps Esq.	Stratton	Banker & MP	10s-0d
Mrs Cumberland	Cirencester	Landowner	£2–2s-0d
W. Hervey Esq.	Broadwell Grove, Oxfordshire	Landowner	£2–2s-0d
J. Howse Esq.	Cirencester	Banker	10s-0d
Rev. J.P. Jones	Ewen	Clergyman	£2–2s-0d
C. Lawrence Esq.	Cirencester	Attorney	£2–2s-0d
W. Lawrence Esq.	Cirencester		£2–2s-0d
W. Lawrence Esq.	London	Surgeon	£2–2s-0d
J.R. Mullings Esq.	Cirencester	Solicitor	£2–2s-0d
G. Newmarch Esq.	Cirencester	Solicitor	£2–2s-0d
C.B. Warner Esq.	Cirencester	Surgeon	£1–1s-0d
Rev. R.G. Woodroffe	Somerford	Clergyman	10s-0d

Note Lord Sherborne was elected a vice president of the Society at its first public meeting on 18 February 1832.

XVII

The Life and Times of the Revd. Thomas Conolly Cowan (1776–1856), of Clifton, a "restless and enquiring spirit" or "a wolf in sheep's clothing"? [1]

M. J. CROSSLEY EVANS

DURING the first thirty years of the nineteenth century Bristol was noted for the strength of its dissenting population, both in terms of numbers and the quality of its leaders.[2] Amongst the Independents, (or Congregationalists), it was possible to single out the Revd William Thorp[3], minister of Castle Green Chapel, and the Revd John Leifchild,[4] minister of Bridge Street Chapel, who took opposing stances on the question of the emancipation of Roman Catholics. The Unitarians could boast the scholarly Revd Dr Lant Carpenter, of Lewin's Mead Chapel,[5] and the Baptists provided a home for the oldest Baptist College in the country, and four ministers with a national reputation: Dr John Ryland,[6] a founder of the Baptist Missionary Society; the Revd Robert Hall,[7] the preacher and theologian; the essayist, the Revd John

[1] This title owes its origin, in part, to the work of Coleridge, (Ed.) H. St. J. Hart, *Confessions of an Enquiring Spirit, reprinted from the third edition 1853*, (1956). This was first published posthumously in 1840. For the importance of Coleridge as a religious writer see: B. Willey, *Nineteenth Century Studies: Coleridge to Matthew Arnold*, (1950), pp.1–50; B. M. G. Reardon, *Religious Thought in the Nineteenth Century Illustrated from Writers of the Period*, (Cambridge 1966), pp.239–53; B. M. G. Reardon, *From Coleridge to Gore: A Century of Religious Thought in Britain*, (1971), pp. 60–89.

[2] J. Corry and J. Evans, *The History of Bristol, Civil and Ecclesiastical; Including Biographical Notices of Eminent and Distinguished Natives*, II, (Bristol 1816), pp. 71–2.

[3] William Thorp (1770–1833), G. Pryce, *A Popular History of Bristol of Bristol, Antiquarian, Topographical, and Descriptive*...(Bristol 1861), pp. 211–14; I. Jones, *Bristol Congregationalism: City and County*, (Bristol 1947), pp.14–5; M. Caston, *Independency in Bristol; with Brief Memorials of its Churches and Pastors*, (Bristol 1860), pp. 64–74.

[4] John Leifchild (1780–1862), was pastor of Bridge Street Chapel between 1824 and January 1831; M. Caston, op. cit., pp.112–4.

[5] Dr Lant Carpenter (1780–1840). G. Pryce, op. cit., pp. 191–3. Dr Carpenter became pastor of the chapel in 1817.

[6] Dr John Ryland (1753–1825), N. S. Moon, *Education for Ministry: Bristol Baptist College 1679–1979*, (Bristol 1979), pp.27–42 ff; S. A. Swain, *Faithful Men; or, Memorials of Bristol Baptist College, and Some of its Most Distinguished Alumni*, (1884), pp.185 ff.

[7] Robert Hall (1764–1831), F. Trestrail, *Reminiscences of College Life in Bristol during the Ministry of the Rev. Robert Hall A.M.*, (undated); R. H. Warren, *The Hall Family*, (Bristol 1910); J. Greene, *Reminiscences of the Rev. Robert Hall, A.M., late of Bristol*, (1832); O. Gregory, *The Miscellaneous Works and Remains of the Rev. Robert Hall with a Memoir of his Life*, (1846); J. Hughes, *The Believer's Prospect and Preparation, described in A Discourse Delivered in Broadmead Meeting House, Bristol, on Sunday Morning, March 6 1831, on occasion of the death of the Rev. Robert Hall, A.M.*, (1831).

Foster,[8] and the Revd Thomas Roberts,[9] minister of Old King Street Chapel, who championed the causes of the unemancipated slaves; the churchless mariner, (prey to the temptations of drink, fallen women and the blandishments of the crooked crimp); and the condemned prisoner awaiting execution.

In addition to the Nonconformists, the city had a number of distinguished ministers of the Church of England, who were broadly divided into two camps. The leading article in *the Times* for the 16th February 1818[10], stated that:

> "There are at present, as is well known, two parties within the pale of the established church, ... The one of these parties is termed evangelical; not perhaps itself dissenting, but with a strong leaning towards the dissenters, and enforcing those doctrines of scripture, almost exclusively, which relate to faith and its operations on the soul: the other, more strictly speaking, the Church of England, mingling in its exhortations faith with good works".

Although the period 1815 to 1845 pre-dated the publication of *The Origin of Species* (1859), and the English laity and clergy were generally ignorant of the "higher criticism" of the Bible, and the work of the German theologians, it was a time of religious ferment and political turmoil for the church.[11] In the 1810s and 1820s the church was assailed by a revival of Socinianism, a heresy which plagued the church at either end of the preceding century. Socinians held that the Eternal Father was the only true God, that the Word was but an expression of a godhead which had not existed from all eternity and that Jesus was not the mediator between God and men, but a pattern of conduct.[12] Those people who denied the doctrine of the Trinity were excluded from the benefits of the Act of Toleration in England until the enactment of *53 Geo III c.160* in 1813, a measure which was vigorously opposed by Dr Burgess, bishop of St David's, and the Evangelicals.[13] In Bristol the Trinity was hotly debated in letters published in the pages of *the Bristol Mirror*. These led to the secession of the Revd Samuel Charles Fripp (1785–1843) from the Established Church in 1821/2.[14] The

[8] John Foster (1770–1843), minister at Downend 1800–4 and 1817–21, J. E. Ryland (ed.), *Foster's Life and Correspondence*, (1846), 2 vols; S. Hutton, *Bristol and its Famous Associations*, (Bristol 1907), pp. 367–8.

[9] Thomas Roberts (1780–1841), J. G. Fuller, *Memoir of Thomas Roberts*, (Bristol 1842); M. J. Crossley Evans, *By God's Grace and To God's Glory: An Account of the Life and Times of Buckingham Chapel, Clifton, Bristol, 1847–1997*, (Bristol 1997), pp. 2–3.

[10] *The Times*, 16th February 1818, p. 2e, see J. Corry and J. Evans, op. cit., pp. 71–2.

[11] M. A. Crowther, *Church Embattled: Religious Controversy in mid-Victorian England*, (Newton Abbot 1970), pp.14, 16, 17, 40–65.

[12] The Socinian heresy generated a wealth of controversial literature, J. P. Ferguson, *An Eighteenth Century Heretic: Dr Samuel Clarke*, (Warwick 1976), pp.48 ff; R. T. Holtby, *Daniel Waterland 1683–1740: A Study in Eighteenth Century Orthodoxy*, (Carlisle 1966), especially pp. 12–49; A. R. Winnett, *Peter Browne: Provost, Bishop, Metaphysician*, (1974), pp. 118–21, 203–8. S. C. Carpenter, *Eighteenth Century Church and People*, (1959), pp. 137–44., B. Willey, *The Eighteenth Century Background: Studies in the Thought of the Period*, (1946), pp. 168–204.

[13] W. F. Hook, *A Church Dictionary*, 11th Edition, (1871), pp. 775–6.

[14] S. C. Fripp, *The Unitarian Christian's Apology for Seceding from the Communion and Worship of Trinitarian Churches: A Discourse of which the Substance was delivered in Lewin's Mead Chapel, Bristol, on the 6th of January 1822*, (Bristol 1822), pp.ii, 7–8 and ff. For Fripp, J.A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, Part II, II, (Cambridge 1944), p.582.

trickle of clergymen who left the Church for dissent gathered momentum. Between 1830 and 1835 it was estimated that it lost between 40 and 50 ordained clergymen in various parts of England for various reasons.[15] This number included those who joined the newly formed Irvingite Catholic and Apostolic Church[16] and the Brethren.[17] Towards the end of the period the Church had to contend with the rise of Puseyism and the Anglo-Catholics, and the millenarian revival and schism which centred around the former Calvinist clergyman, Henry James Prince, curate of Charlinch in Somerset.[18]

This paper, the product of thirty years of study snatched in fugitive moments, is not exhaustive, but it brings together a number of scattered sources in an effort to reconstruct the life of Bristol's most noted 19th century heretic and to place him in his contemporary context.

A heretic is one who is about the Devil's work, sowing tares among the good grain, which will be weeded out and burned on the Day of Judgment. This perception was common in the first decades of the nineteenth century. Antinomianism, a doctrinal aberration associated with Calvinism, was seen as a particularly deadly menace. It claims that those particularly chosen by God for salvation, "the Elect", are free from the restraints of the moral law, and that being saved, their conduct in this life did not affect their salvation. The great Bristol Baptist preacher, the Revd Robert Hall of Broadmead Chapel, published a powerful counterblast to Antinomianism in his *Treatise on Christian Baptism compared with the Baptism of John* (1816). This was written during the controversy generated by the schism of the Revd Thomas Cowan and other ministers from the Established Church. Hall stated:

> "Antinomianism is the epidemic malady of the present …it is an evil of gigantic size and deadly malignity. It is qualified for mischief by the very properties which might seem to render it merely an object of contempt—its vulgarity of conception, its paucity of ideas, its determined hostility to taste, science and letters. It includes within a compass which every head can contain, and every tongue can utter, a system which cancels every moral tie, consigns the whole human race to the extremes of presumption or despair, erects religion on the ruins of morality, and imparts to the dregs of stupidity all the powers of the most active poison".[19]

[15] J. C. Philpot, *Secessions from the Church of England Defended*, 7th Edition, (1887), p.8; quoted in J. H. Philpot, *The Story of J. C. Philpot and William Tiptaft*, (undated), p.85.

[16] J. H. Philpot, op. cit., p.84, A. L. Drummond, *Edward Irving and His Circle, Including Some Consideration of the Tongues Movement in the Light of Modern Psychology*, (*c.* 1934); R. A. Knox, *Enthusiasm: A Chapter in the History of Religion, with Special Reference to the XVII and XVIII Centuries*, (Oxford 1950), pp.550 and ff; S. C. Hall, *A Book of Memories of Great Men and Women of the Age, from Personal Acquaintance*, 3rd Edition, (*c.* 1877), pp.48–50.

[17] F. R. Coad, *A History of the Brethren Movement: Its Origins, Its Worldwide Development, and Its Significance for the Present Day*, (1968), pp.15, 26,ff.

[18] J. J. Schwieso, "The Founding of the Agapemone at Spaxton, 1845–6", *The Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society*, 135, (1991), pp.113–121; R. A. Knox, op. cit., pp.568 ff.

[19] J. B. Marsden, *Dictionary of Christian Churches and Sects from the Earliest Ages of Christianity*, (1854), pp.55–6; J. Evans, *A Sketch of the Denominations of the Christian World*, 5th Edition, (1801), pp. 75–6. *The Entire Works of Robert Hall, A. M.*, edited by O.Gregory, II, (1831), and pp. 231–2. In 1819 Hall wrote the preface to Samuel Chase's *Antinomianism Unmasked*, Hall, op. cit, IV, pp. 441–55.

The subject of Antinomianism was to the fore throughout the 1810s and 1820s and in the 1830s the Plymouth Brethren were unjustly accused of this heresy. Joseph Cottle (1770–1853), the crippled Baptist bookseller who attended Broadmead Chapel, and was the first publisher of Wordsworth, Coleridge, Southey, and Lamb in his *Strictures on the Plymouth Antinomians* quoted Hall's statement that Antinomianism was "that thick skinned monster of the ooze and the mire, which no weapon can pierce, no discipline can tame".[20] Cowan, who arrived in Bristol an Evangelical, was branded as an adherant of this heresy.

The nineteenth century saw the advent of clerical villains in popular literature.[21] They were not members of the Established Church, nor were they recognised Dissenters, such as Methodists, they were on the fringes of established religion, renegades, with a charm and plausibility often associated with cant and fraud. Two important examples are the Revd Joseph Emilius in Trollope's *Eustace Diamonds* and the Revd Mr Chadband in *Bleak House*. Dickens and Trollope stigmatise enthusiasm, ill-defined religious doctrines and the love of money cloaked by humility in these clerical characters, who wallowed in the adulation of their female admirers and preyed upon their credulity. Emilius gulled Lizzie Lady Eustace and Chadband preyed upon Mrs Snagsby and her friends.

Dickens was no stranger to Bristol. His maternal family were residents in the city, two great uncles were members of the Society of Merchant Venturers and one held the office of mayor.[22] His literary masterpiece, *The Pickwick Papers*, was published in weekly parts between 1836 and 1837, and partly set in Bath, Clifton and Bristol. One of its unpleasantly humorous characters, Brother Stiggins, is a sub-clerical gentleman noted for cant, religious enthusiasm, and his adoring and devoted circle of female followers which included Mrs Weller. The similarities between the Revd Thomas Conolly Cowan's life and the aspects of his character revealed in the press, and Dickens's fictional character make it possible that Dickens drew upon Cowan's life to create one of the most damning characterisations of a Christian minister in nineteenth century literature.[23] Cowan's residence in Charlotte Street was less than one hundred yards from the home of Dickens's great-uncle, Alderman Bassow in Park Street which was the fictional setting for part of *The Pickwick Papers*.

[20] J. Cottle, *Strictures on the Plymouth Antinomians*, 2nd Edition (1824), p. 10, quoting Hall, op. cit., pp. 230–1. This was written before the formation of the Plymouth Brethren *c.* 1830. A. B. Cottle, "The Life (1770–1853), Writings and Literary Relationships of Joseph Cottle of Bristol", unpublished University of Bristol Ph.D. thesis (1958), especially pp. 222–3.

[21] A. L. Drummond, *The Churches in English Fiction: A Literary and Historical Study from the Regency to the present time, of British and American Fiction*, (Leicester 1950), especially pp. 244–6.

[22] John Barrow (1763–1841), lived in Park Street, alderman of St Ewen's Ward 1828–34, and served as sheriff in 1816/7 and mayor 1823/4; L. R. Reeves, "Charles Dickens-The Bristol Connection", *The Temple Local History Group Newsletter*, (1988), No 1, pp.34–43; G.Bush, "Bristol and its Municipal Government 1820–1851", *Bristol Record Society*, XXIX, (1976), p.234.

[23] M. J. Crossley Evans, "Dickens and the Church, as Revealed in the pages of *the Pickwick Papers* and *Bleak House*", a lecture given on the 13th November 1997.

ORIGINS

Little is known of Cowan's family. He may have been a member of prominent family of that name who were linen bleachers and settled in Co. Down.[24] His father, John Cowan, gentleman of Dublin and a member of the Middle Temple, was called to the English bar in 1775. Thomas Conolly Cowan[25] was born in Dublin in 1776, educated in England and admitted to Trinity College, Dublin, in November 1793, at the age of 17, graduating B.A. in the summer of 1798.[26] Cowan in the *Bristol Gazette* for 12th January 1829[27] stated that he had lived in his native country uninterruptedly for ten years during its most turbulent times from 1791 to 1801, and that although he never was and never would be an Orangeman, he had taken an active part against the rebels in 1798. He frequently visited Ireland after settling in England,[28] In 1799 he married a young lady of eighteen, Lucinda Martha, from Co Cavan. Under the terms of their marriage settlement, she was given a jointure on lands in Strabane and Lifford, in counties Tyrone and Donegal[29]. She proved an invaluable and unwavering source of support during almost 60 years of married life.

Cowan was ordained a deacon by the Bishop of Clonfert in February 1799.[30] We do not know where he was ordained priest, but this event occurred between 1799 and 1800. Of his decision to be ordained Cowan was later to write that he "voluntarily undertook the sacred office of a minister, but without thought of its importance and without any knowledge of its duties." (15th September 1817).

THE MOVE TO ENGLAND, AND HIS MINISTRY 1800–1815

Following his ordination Cowan was resident in the parish of St. Clement, Hastings in October 1800.[31] His whereabouts for two years are unknown, but in September 1802 he secured the stipendiary curacy of Newton St Cyres, near Exeter.[32] Cowan remained here until he became stipendiary curate of Kenton, near Dawlish, where he

[24] The author has received much assistance in trying to identify Cowan's ancestry from Dr Gilbert Howe.

[25] H. A. C. Sturgess, *The Register of Admissions to the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple*, I, (1949), p.365. I am most grateful to Miss Ruth Jones, the senior librarian of the Middle Temple, for this information.

[26] G. D. Burtchaell & T. K. Sadleir, *Alumni Dublinensis*, (Dublin, 1935), New Edition, p. 184, and addendum p. 135.

[27] *The Bristol Gazette*, 12th February 1829, p.3e.

[28] B.R.O., MS 35893 (36) I, Vol XII, f.346.

[29] The wills of T. C. Cowan (1856), Samuel Brice Cowan (1884), and Alexander Mangin Cowen (1893).

[30] I am indebted to Mr Raymond Refausse, Librarian and Archivist to the Representative Church Body Library, for this information. Letter dated 16th February 1990.

[31] Letters from C.R.Davey, the county archivist for East Sussex, 22nd and 31st January 1990.

[32] B.R.O., MS 35893 (36) l, Vol XII, f. 342, Devon County Record Office, registers of the parish of Newton St Cyres.

resided from June 1806 until April 1810.[33] Whilst there he met the three young men who were to have a profound influence on his life; Thomas Snow (1786–*c.*1865), George Baring, and George Bevan (1782–1819), all of whom later became clergymen.[34]

In March 1810 in preparation for his move the local paper advertised the sale of his "neat inside jaunting car, in perfect order, ... a neat gig" (both with harnesses) and "an excellent gig mare" aged less than eight years.[35] The contents of his house, near the church at Kenton, were sold in October and consisted of: "A quantity of genteel and modern furniture"[36] and show that although Cowan was only a stipendiary curate he was able to live in some style.

In 1810 Cowan moved to Clifton to assist the Revd John Hensman (1780–1864), the stipendiary curate of St Andrew's Clifton and St Andrew the Less, Dowry Square, Hotwells. Hensman had served as a fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and as a curate the Revd Charles Simeon, the leading Evangelical in Cambridge.[37] Hensman arrived in Clifton in 1809, and joined the influential group of Evangelicals which centred around the Revd Thomas Tregenna Biddulph, vicar of St James's Haymarket and the Revd Fountain Elwin, vicar of Temple.

George Baring, Cowan's friend from his days at Kenton, was now Thomas Biddulph's curate at the latter's living of Durston, six miles south of Bridgwater. Biddulph exchanged his pulpit in Bristol for that of Durston each summer with Baring, and this allowed the friends plenty of opportunities to meet and to discuss theology.[38]

Cowan resided at 8 Albermarle Row, Hotwells [39] and collected around him a body of committed adherents who met at his house as a "Society of Christians". They formed an enclosed and inward looking body, which met to read, to sing, to pray, and to engage in holy conversation. All members signed written declarations not to report their conversations to the outside world. They were to adhere to the 39 Articles and take the sacraments, observe strict sobriety and dress according to their social station. There was to be: no gaming; no getting into debt; no buying or selling of smuggled goods; no marrying ungodly persons; no talking against ministers and magistrates; no singing lewd songs; no reading unsuitable books; no disputes about politics, and no going to law with each other. To overcome gossip Cowan insisted that women

[33] Devon Record Office, Kenton, P 14 (for baptisms and burials) and Kenton P 16 (for marriages). Letters from Mrs M. M. Rowe, the county archivist for Devon, 21st September and 12th October 1989.

[34] For show, J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, Part 2 1752–1900, V, (Cambridge 1953), p.586, for baring J. A. Venn, op. cit. I, (Cambridge 1940), p.149.

[35] *The Exeter Flying Post*, 29th March 1810, p.1e. I am grateful to Mr M. L. G. Maguire, the Area Librarian, The Central Library, Exeter, for this information. Letter 2nd November 1989.

[36] Ibid., 11th October 1810, p.4d.

[37] J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses,* Part 2 1752–1900, III, (Cambridge 1947), p. 334; *D. N. B.*, XXVI, (1891), p. 138.

[38] W. Gibson, "Somerset Evangelical Clergy", *The Proceeding of the Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society*, 130, (1986), pp. 135–40.

[39] *Matthews's Directory* (1814), p. 2; (1815) p. 3; B.R.O., EP/A/47,pp. 32, 37; P/StA/R.4 (b), P/StA/R/4(c) Marriages 1813–1837, pp. 11, 36, P/StA/V3, pp. 43, 76, 149.

attended one meeting and men another.[40] In his wish to separate the "godly" from those who only observed the outward forms, Cowan's activities were to be mirrored by those of the Revd Henry Prince at Charlinch in 1840/2.[41]

By 1815 the Society had grown in influence, and purchased land on Brandon Hill to build a proprietary chapel where Cowan would be answerable to his congregation alone. Work must have already begun on the building because in 1815, Matthews's plan of Bristol and Clifton calls it a "Seceders' Chapel".[42] At that time Cowan was still within the pale of the Established Church, although Hensman dismissed him from the assistant curacy of Clifton early in 1815.[43]

One of his supporters offered him £2,000 with which to purchase a proprietary chapel in Manchester, but a number of the clergy there, perhaps alerted by Cowan's enemies in Clifton, warned the bishop of Chester, in whose diocese the chapel was situated. The bishop promptly refused to consecrate the chapel if Cowan was to be its minister.[44]

At juncture the Revd Martin Richard Whish (1782–1852), a prebendary of Salisbury Cathedral, and vicar of St Mary Redcliff, Bedminster, Abbotts Leigh and St Thomas, City,[45] who was an active Evangelical, made Cowan stipendiary curate of St Thomas, City, which he served between 1815 and 1817.[46] Cowan brought his followers with him, including many female adherents from St Andrew's Clifton and St Augustine's.[47]

Cowan was sufficiently influential to be the preacher at the formation of the Devon and Exeter Church Missionary Association in October 1816 where he extolled the benefits of converting, "several hundreds of millions of heathens, debased by the most abominable vices; men immolating themselves to monstrous idols of wood and stone, or erecting edifices to the worship of the devil himself". The missionaries would go to these far-flung parts of the world and: "preach Jesus Christ, and Him crucified and nothing else."[48] It is noteworthy that one of Cowan's sons, the Revd George Baring Cowan (1817–1844), having renounced his father's subsequent antipathy to the Established Church, was ordained and went with his young family to Placentia Bay

[40] Gloucester Public Library, Gloucestershire Tracts, Painswick House Collection, Series A, Volume VIII (Misc. 1813–1880), *The Nature, Design, and General Rules of a Society of Christians in Communion with the Established Church, Meeting at the house of Thomas Conolly Cowan*, (Bristol 1813), pp. 8, transcribed in June 1988 with the help of Mrs J. D. Morris.

[41] J. J. Schwieso, op.cit., p.114.

[42] *Matthews's New and Correct Plan of the City and Suburbs of Bristol, including the Hotwells and Clifton and the new buildings down to the year 1815 taken from an actual survey.* No 56. *Donne's New and Correct Plan of Bristol and the Hotwells* (1821), lists Bethesda Chapel.

[43] The last service known to have been conducted by Cowan at St. Andrew's, Clifton, was on 15th January 1815.

[44] T. C. Cowan, *A Brief Account of the Reasons which have induced.T.C.C. late of Trinity College Dublin, to secede from the Established Church, addressed to those who composed his congregation while he officiated in the parish church of St. Thomas, Bristol,* 2nd Edition, (Bristol 1817), p. 44.

[45] Cowan calls him: "my beloved friend and late vicar", Cowan, op. cit. p. 8.

[46] B.R.O., P/StT/R/7, pp. 23, 39.

[47] Henry Edwards Shew (1799–1864), who visited Hannah More in 1817, attended Cowen's ministry at St. Thomas'.

[48] *The Exeter Flying Post,* 31st October 1816, p.1 a and c.

in Newfoundland in 1841, as a missionary with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. He died at his new station, Harbour Grace, three years later.[49]

Many of Cowan's clerical colleagues within the city grew to dislike him and to fear his unorthodox teaching. One of them attended an early morning service conducted by him in St Thomas's. Detecting him flouting the rubric of the *Book of Common Prayer*, he wrote to the bishop, Dr William Lort Mansel. Without making further enquiries, the bishop suspended Cowan from his ministerial functions in July 1817. Cowan remonstrated with the bishop and claimed that Dr Mansel had treated him neither as a gentleman nor as "a fellow worker in the vineyard". He went on to state that: "If I had been a jovial fellow, a hunting or shooting parson, I should never had occasion to address this letter to your lordship."[50]

In his letter to the bishop on the 3rd July 1817, Cowan confessed that he had harboured doubts about the Church of England for about two years and had thought of leaving the church in December 1816. Cowan justified his lapses in the conduct of the service and pays tribute to his "beloved friend", the Revd Martin Whish. Cowan wrote again to the bishop on 22nd July 1817 having received no reply to his previous letter and then confessed to a whole raft of doubts about the Established Church. He told the bishop that for about four months he had been very distressed by the unscriptural practice of infant baptism; the episcopal powers of the bishops did not accord to those found in Sacred Record; the connection between church and state was unscriptural; he had become worried at admitting the worldly to Holy Communion, and that as he did not believe that Christ died for all men he deplored the practice of giving Christian burial to non believers. In his letter he stated that he wished to receive believer's baptism from "my friend and brother, Mr Baring". He stated that by being baptised by Baring this did not made him one of his party, any more than if he were baptised by Dr Ryland this would make him a Baptist. "However much I respect the Doctor and his associates, I would unquestionably prefer [the position] of Mr Baring, with whose views…I yet more generally agree than with those as I have heard them delivered, by … any … minister in Bristol".[51] Cowan however "never left a dissenting place of worship without feeling an increased regard for the liturgy of the Church of England," and had printed his own liturgy which was almost identical to *the Book of Common Prayer*.[52] He concluded his letter expressing his: "Warm sense of the truly Christian love and conduct I have experienced from my late vicar, … who in love to his Master, Christ Jesus, in godly sympathy and sincerity of soul, in zeal for His cause, and in true catholicism of Christian spirit is equalled by few, surpassed by none". Cowan then left the Church of England with many of his congregation, entrusting his wife and the care of his nine children to his supporters.

Cowan's friend, Baring, before he left the Established Church, formed a similar society of Christians in Durston to that formed by Cowan in Hotwells. Baring later purchased the Octagon Chapel in Taunton in 1816, received adult baptism with his

[49] *Classified Digest of the Records of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts 1701–1892*, 5th Edition, (1895), pp. 88–102, 857.

[50] T. C. Cowan, *A Brief Account of the Reasons which have induced. T. C. C. late of Trinity College, Dublin, to secede from the Established Church, addressed to those who composed his congregation while he officiated in the parish church of St. Thomas, Bristol*, 2nd Edition, (Bristol 1817), pp. 5, 15–6, 51.

[51] T. C. Cowan, op. cit. p. 43, p. 44.

[52] No copy of this has been traced.

followers and formed a congregation of Particular Baptists. They "became a scandal in the neighbourhood as Mrs Baring preached in the chapel, in addition to her husband, and visited the homes of members of the congregation with her harp to sing hymns". Biddulph's reputation was severely damaged by his curate's secession from the Established Church. In time the apostacy of Cowan, Baring and others became known as the "Western Schism".[53]

Cowan met Hannah More (1745–1833), the doyenne of the Bristol Evangelicals, shortly after his arrival in Bristol. In 1814 she secured his subscription to a volume of sermons by one of the founding fathers of the Evangelical movement, the Revd John Venn, vicar of Clapham. Her views of him at this time have not been preserved, but from his doctrines and from the company that he kept, he would have found favour with her. Her approbation of Cowan didn't last, however, because his preaching was felt to tend towards Antinomianism.[54] After Cowan had been dismissed from Clifton, Hannah More wrote to Zachary Macaulay in 1816 reporting what was obviously the common view among her circle. "C (owan) is going on worse than ever. His sermons are interlarded with so much pious blasphemy as makes me tremble".[55] It may have been letters both from Hannah More to her friend, the bishop, Dr Mansel, with whom she had been "coquetting a good while", and from her Evangelical friends to the bishop, which predisposed Dr Mansel against Cowan and encouraged him to suspend Cowan without a hearing. In his printed letter Cowan stated that a subscription was in hand to complete his chapel and this will have caused Hannah More much distress.[56]

The main Bristol paper, *Felix Farley's Journal* was both hostile to Cowan and alarmed at the numbers leaving the Church of England with him. Between June and August 1817 there were many letters and articles on related subjects in Bristol's weekly papers. On 28th June advanced notice had been given that Cowan's behaviour at St. Thomas's had been brought to the attention of the bishop. Letters against Antinomianism were printed from the Revd Edward Cooper, the Revd Richard Warner's sermon on the growing schism in the Church was given prominence and on 2nd August 1817 Whish attacked the aspersions which had been cast on Cowan.

Hannah More in a conversation on 1st November 1817 with Dr Randolph, one of the canons of Bristol Cathedral told him that she had been visited by the eighteen-year old son of a Bristol dentist who wished to become a missionary who had told her that "he had been brought to the knowledge and love of divine truth under Mr Cowan's ministry, that he had discovered the flightiness of some of his tenets before his (Cowan's) secession from the Church—that grateful and attached as he felt towards him, he could not bring himself to follow him in error, and that he had therefore withdrawn from Mr C (owan) and frequented Mr Elwin's church".[57]

[53] W. Gibson, op. cit. p. 137.

[54] *Letters of Hannah More to Zachary Macaulay Esq. Containing Notes of Lord Macaulay's Youth*, edited by A. Roberts, (1860), pp. 58–61, 15th January 1814.

[55] Ibid., pp. 89–90.

[56] T. C. Cowan, op. cit., p. 43.

[57] M. J. Crossley Evans, "The Curtain Parted: or Four Conversations with Hannah More, 1817–1818", *The Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 110, (1992), pp. 181–211, especially pp. 187–9, 201.

The schism, of which Cowan was part, inspired two of the essays in Hannah More's volume of *Moral Sketches* published in 1819, entitled, "On Novel Opinions in Religion" and "Ill Effects of the Late Secession". In them she attacked the "New Seceders", "some clergymen in the West of England (who) had separated from the Church, without the smallest bond of union among themselves except bitter and inexorable hostility against the church they had left".[58] She believed the secession had encouraged a number of young people in doctrinal error.[59]

Hannah More wrote to her friend, the Revd R. C. Whalley: "You will have grieved at the wild schism of Baring, and Snow and Co. In all ages of the Church the first seed of heresy I take to have been vanity. When I lamented the secession of these men to the Bishop of St David's (Dr Thomas Burgess 1756–1837), his answer was "you ought to rejoice to get such doctrines out of the church at any rate. Their scheme will come to nothing".[60]

On 21st November 1817 she wrote to Zachary Macaulay:

> "Poor C (owan) gets plunged deeper and deeper in absurdity. One Sunday, while he was in his pulpit, his wife walked up the steps of it, with her new-born infant, presented it to her husband, who held it at arm's length over the pulpit, declaring to his crowded but low audience, that this was the way he dedicated his child to God.[61] The cries of the infant, and the terrors of the audience lest it should fall, produce such alarm that many went out. To the others it was a fine piece of stage effect. Mr B (aring) is come up to baptise C (owan) and forty converts are ready to be baptised by C (owan) the instant his immersion is over! He had, for some time, borrowed the Welsh Chapel to preach in. The managers of this chapel went to request Rowland Hill to honour their chapel by preaching a charity sermon in it. He told them that he would not for the world preach in a place which had been so polluted by C (owan)'s doctrines, that he perhaps might do so if they would whitewash the walls, perfume every part of it with vinegar and turn the devil out of the windows. I really think C(owan)'s extravagances, together with those of his compeers have been of no small service to our Christian people at Bristol. They are become more guarded and practical".

Of Cowan's friend she went on to say: "Mr W (hish) seems as if no warning could reach him. He is a well-meaning man, but very weak, and utterly destitute of judgement and prudence".[62]

[58] H.I. Thompson, *The Life of Hannah More with Notices of her Sisters*, (1838), pp.285–6.

[59] H. More, *Moral Sketches of Prevailing Opinions and Manners, Foreign and Domestic*, 4th Edition, (1819), p.169.

[60] H.I. Thompson, op. cit., p.286.

[61] This child was called after the minister who baptised his father. George Baring Cowan (1817–1844).

[62] A. Roberts, (ed.) op. cit., pp.102–4.

COWAN AS A DISSENTER AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF BETHESDA CHAPEL, GREAT GEORGE STREET 1817–1831

Cowan tried to cultivate the minister of Broadmead Baptist Chapel, Dr Ryland, and requested that he might be baptised in his chapel by Baring. His letter to Ryland has not survived, but a copy of Ryland's undated reply to Cowan is preserved in a common place book kept by one of Hannah More's circle, in possession of the author. From internal evidence it dates from July 1817.

> "I have had no opportunity of conversation with yourself on doctrinal subjects, nor yet of hearing you preach, but from general report I had indulged a sincere respect for you as zealous for evangelical truth, nor would this be withdrawn on account of some shades of difference between us, even on subjects of considerable importance but I fear the difference is not so small as I was ready to hope. Mr Baring and the other clergymen who seceded before you, I have never seen".

He outlined his own Calvinism, with its doctrines of Election, and Predestination, together with his adherence to the Westminster Confession of Faith (1646). Dr Ryland noted:

> "Some of your friends scruple to address sinners as John the Baptist, and our Lord and his Apostles did …Mr B (aring) said at Bath when preaching in a part of the city peculiarly filled with bad women "There may be some of the dear children of God here, who are now wallowing in their sins, but they are as safe as if they were in Glory". … Who can know his Election while he is wallowing in his sins? … I fear it is impossible to prove that (Baring) does not frequently talk in a way more suited to reconcile people to the abominable thing that God hates than to excite genuine repentance and self abasement …I dare not lend Mr Baring my pulpit, unless I was sure his preaching had a tendency to promote real holiness in heart and life, and I fear it is far otherwise".[63]

Denied the use of Broadmead Chapel, the Revd George Baring used the Pithay Chapel, the home of the "Tent Methodists" for his public immersion of Cowan, which took place on the 26th November 1817. Baring preached to a crowded auditory from Ephesians IV, verse 5, on " One baptism". *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* for 6th December recorded that after the end of the sermon:

> "There was a little disturbance from the spectators to view the ceremony. There were 60 persons baptised by Mr Baring, Mr Maffey and Mr Cowan, who after receiving the ordinances returned and baptised twenty persons, all of them from Mr Cowan's congregation; and we understand there are many candidates desirous to receive the ordinance (at) the first opportunity. The whole was conducted with great solemnity. A few benches gave way from the pressure of the crowd; but without producing any accident".[64]

[63] The original letter of this letter is not to be found with Ryland's surviving MS, housed in the Bristol Baptist College.

[64] See *The Bristol Mirror*, 29th November 1817, 6th December 1817; *The Bristol Mercury*, 1st December 1817.

The ceremony coincided with the publication of *Old Church of England Principles in opposition to the New Light* (1817–1818) by the Revd Richard Warner (1762–1857), vicar of Norton St Philip with Hinton Charterhouse, Somerset, who had been curate of St. James's Bath from 1795 until 1817. Warner, who loathed Calvinism in particular and the Evangelicals in general, mentioned the secession of Baring, Snow, Evans, and Cowan from the Church of England as an effect of the growth of these twin evils within the Church. He advocated the episcopal rejection of candidates for ordination who could or would not give a series of unequivocal declarations on a large number of points which he stated were "the Scriptural, reasonable and long acknowledged principles of the Church of England".[65] It appears that Cowan and his confreres were known as the "new lights", a fact which lingered in folk memory.[66]

Coming in the wake of the widely publicised controversy in Bath between the Evangelical, Bishop Ryder of Gloucester and Archdeacon Thomas of Bath over the work of the Church Missionary Association,[67] the apostasy of Cowan must have thoroughly discomforted his erstwhile Evangelical friends in Bristol; Hensman, Elwin, and Biddulph.

At some time immediately prior to his baptism, Cowan moved with his adherents to Gideon Chapel, Northumberland Road, Bristol.[68] It was here that *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* for 22nd November 1817 tells us that he preached a funeral sermon for Princess Charlotte, who died at childbirth.

The attacks on the Evangelicals continued in the Bristol newspapers. A defence of Archdeacon Thomas's character included an attack on Cowan for adding and curtailing the liturgy, "to make it comfortable to his own peculiar notions". This caused a spirited reply from the Revd Martin Whish, who noted that the bishop was wrong to charge Cowan with adding to the service. Whish went on to state that the 7:00 am service was taken gratuitously at St. Thomas's by Cowan. The service was abridged in the same way as the morning service at the Cathedral. While lamenting Cowan's indiscretion, he was unable to see how the service could be taken in full. He had suspended Cowan in obedience to the bishop, "tho' it is attended with considerable inconvenience". He went on to express his hope that Cowan would "vindicate himself from the charges brought against him by either secret or avowed enemies".[69]

Cowan's congregation met regularly at Gideon Chapel until the end of 1818 when the building on Brandon Hill, called Bethesda (the healing pool) was completed.[70] It could seat about 500 people in the main body of the building and in the galleries. Occasional services were taken at Gideon Chapel until 1820.[71] Whilst at Gideon

[65] Richard Warner had already alluded to this in his *Sermons on the Epistles or Gospels for the Sundays Throughout the Year*, 4th Edition, (Bath 1818), pp. 12, 14.

[66] M. Caston, op. cit., p. 156.

[67] M. J. Crossley Evans, op. cit., pp. 191–3.

[68] L.P. Nott, *Gideon 1810–1910: the Vicissitudes of a City Chapel, Being the Centenary History of the Gideon Congregational Chapel, Bristol*, (Bristol 1909), p. 23. Nott stated that Cowan's doctrines were on the lines of what were later known as the Plymouth Brethren.

[69] *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal*, 3rd January 1818,p. 3, 10th January 1818, p. 3.

[70] K. and A. Linton, *I Will Build My Church*, (undated), pp. 11, 12.

[71] Cowan resided in an un-numbered house in Charlotte Street from 1822–32, B.R.O., 1/J32, p.59, and the Church Rate for St Augustine's (1827), p.59; (1831), p.58.

Chapel Cowan published a number of highly controversial sermons.[72] He was attacked by his opponents, lay and clerical, both in print and from the pulpit and accused of confusing the persons of the Trinity, an error known as Sabellianism.[73]

The Revd Robert Harkness Carne (1784–1844)[74], attributed the revival in Unitarianism to the ministries of the Revds George Baring, Thomas Cowan and George Bevan, and firmly asserted that: "novelty in religion is but another name for heresy". He also stated that Cowan had "lately acknowledged plainly, and explicitly to a clerical friend … that he never did, believe the doctrine of the Trinity". He says that Cowan and he had once shared doctrinal opinions, but now their friendship was at an end: "for what concord has light with darkness or faith with infidelity". [75] Carne states that although Cowan has been "preaching the gospel, and with considerable success for years" he had been influenced in his new doctrines by Messrs Baring and Snow. Cowan had visited Baring at Northbrook[76] and heard him preach, returning to Bristol a convert to Sabellianism. In August 1817 Cowan wrote to Carne and urged him to "converse with him (Baring) as a friend and brother" and to hear him preach. Cowan then travelled to Cheltenham to hear Snow. Cowan was influenced by both men at every step of his journey, and Carne points out that Cowan glided rapidly from one opinion to another and gave "a deplorable instance of human caprice". Even Baring had allegedly said of Cowan "his friend in Bristol was sometimes too precipitate". Cowan was stated by Carne to have adopted some of the ideas of the Baron Swedenbourg, the metaphysician, on the Trinity, and he dissects Cowan's concept of the Deity, which he believed was of his own creation. Baring's doctrine was hateful and dangerous. He had "crept into the pulpits of other ministers, in some instances that I myself know of … decidedly against the wishes of the pastors and decried the true God".[77]

Cowan had a particularly large female following. One of his critics, the Revd John Simons (1755–1836), rector of St Paul's Cray, Kent, writing in 1818, attacked women devotees of religious sects in general. He claimed that woman was: "the most apt to be deceived, and being so, the most ready to become a deceiver in her turn". The serpent began with a woman: "women, young women chiefly, or such as, if older, are easily captivated by the charm of novelty, (especially being flattered, as by these men,

[72] T. C. Cowan, *Substance of a Sermon on the Baptism that Saves, Preached May 24th 1818*, (Bristol 1818), pp. 31; *Sermon on the Work of the Holy Spirit: being the substance of two discourses…preached at Gideon Chapel, Bristol, November 17th and December 7th 1817*, (Bristol 1818); *An attempt to Prove the Death of Christ the only Sacrifice for Sin*, 2nd Edition, (Bristol 1822), pp. 31.

[73] R. H. Carne, *The Proper Deity and Distinct Personality, Agency and Worship of the Holy Spirit Vindicated Against the Recent Cavils of Messieurs Baring, Bevan, Cowan &c. late Seceders from the Church of England; to which is added An Appendix on the Doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation; and also, an Alphabetical List of Fifty Hebrew Titles of Deity with Explanations*, (Exeter 1818).

[74] J. Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford 1715–1886*, I, (Oxford 1888), p.220.

[75] R. H. Carne op. cit., pp. vi, viii, he excepts Messrs Snow and Evans from the charge of Sabellian Unitarianism, see also pp.x, xvii–xviii, 108–9.

[76] Possibly Northbrook House, two miles SW. of Farnham, Hampshire, (Ed.) J. G. Bartholomew, *The Survey Gazetteer of the British Isles, Topographical, Statistical and Commercial*, (1904), p.605.

[77] R. H. Carne, op. cit., pp. 111–9, 121, 122, 125, 130–3, 138–9, 170–1, 237, 238–9, 240, 241.

into a notion of their own superior understanding, or illumination, being always in every place where it obtains a footing the first who are corrupted by it". It was women who circulated the notes that they made in sermons to each other, and thus spread the contagion. He believed that Cowan and others encouraged women not to attend the ministry of their own clergymen, but to join meetings held in the houses of members of the seceders's congregations and to attend their chapels. [78] This elicited a spirited, if unconvincing, response from the Revd Thomas Snow, who knew Simons personally.[79]

The association between Antinomianism and Unitarianism is confirmed in a letter from William Wilberforce to Dr Ryland dated 1st January 1818: "I am both concerned and surprised to hear that the Unitarians among you are receiving any encouragement, tho' I must say it is a very natural effect of the Antinomian heresy. May your antidote to these poisons be as efficacious as you can desire".[80]

Hannah More's work, *Moral Sketches of Prevailing Opinions and Manners, Foreign and Domestic* (1819), expressed horror of those ministers like Cowan, who had left the church. She quoted 2 Timothy III, 6 –7, which she applied to ministers who: "creep into houses and lead captive silly women... ever learning and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth". She also deplored their female adherents, who laboured hard to spread their doctrines among their friends. Although she did not acknowledge it, she was influenced in her criticisms by those, like Simons, who had attacked Cowan before her.[81]

By the early 1820s Cowan was holding three Sunday services, 7:30 am, 11:00 am, and 6:00 pm, and mid-week services at 6:00 pm on Tuesdays and Fridays.[82] His new congregation initially flourished. That so little is known of its activities indicates that Cowan insisted that members of his congregation did not discuss their views, or their minister, with those outside, using, perhaps, an individual personal written engagement of the type that he had drawn up whilst serving as curate of St Andrew, Clifton.

Inspite of the strong disapproval of Cowan and his doctrine expressed both by the clergymen of the Church of England and by Dr Ryland, on the 4th August 1820 he spoke in the Great Room in Prince's Street at the public meeting called to discuss the formation of a Bristol branch of the Seamen's Friend Society and Bethel Union, whose object was to bring the Gospel to the many seafarers both on board ship and discharged within the port. Other speakers included the Revd William Thorp (1771–1833), the minister of Castle Green Independent Chapel, and Revd Thomas

[78] J. Simons, *A Letter to an Highly Respected Friend on the Subject of Certain Errors in the Antinomian kind which have lately sprung up in the West of England, and are now making an alarming progress throughout the Kingdom*, (1818), pp.iv, 38–9, 41.

[79] T. Snow, *A Reply to A Letter written by the Reverend John Simons, Rector of Paul's Cray, purporting to be on the subject of certain errors of the Antinomian kind, which have lately sprung up in the West of England*, (1818), pp.1, 2, 3.

[80] Bristol Baptist College, Ryland's MS Box A, G97B, OS.

[81] H. More, op.cit., eg., pp.165, 171. See also: A Layman, *The Church of England Vindicated, Remarks on,"A Brief Account of the Reasons which have induced the Rev T. C. Cowan to Secede from the Established Church"*,(Exeter 1818), pp.59. which points out various errors in Cowan's work.

[82] *Mathews's Bristol Directory*, (1822), p. 13.

Steffe Crisp (1788–1868), the assistant minister of Broadmead Chapel.[83] This society was supported both by the Revd Rowland Hill, an opponent of Cowan's, and Dr Ryland.

Almost everything that has come down to us about Cowan has come to us from the pens of hostile witnesses. Consequently, it is pleasing to see Cowan in the light of a friend, and family man. Providing for his large family, of whom nine reached maturity, and all of whom, bar the eldest, were sons, was no easy matter. Cowan's oldest surviving son was Robert Sproule Cowan (1804–1875). After education at schools run by a Moravian minister at Fairfield, near Manchester, and in London, he was indentured on 2nd October 1819 to the Bristol surgeon and apothecary, Richard Smith (1772–1843), as an outdoor apprentice, his father paying a premium of two hundred guineas. Smith was a "convivial, cheerful man", a keen freemason, a future master of the Royal Sussex Lodge of Hospitality, No 187, and deputy provincial grand master. He was well known for his jokes, humorous stories, and "rather loud brusque voice". He was surgeon at the Bristol Royal Infirmary for 46 years and was a noted resurrectionist, constantly in need of subjects for dissection.[84] Cowan and Smith were close friends. Both were men of strong and eccentric opinions, who stood on the margins of polite society in the city, a fact that may have helped to strengthen the bonds of mutual respect between them. Although there are hints in their correspondence that Cowan was a freemason, it has not been able to prove this fact from the records of either the United Grand Lodge of Ireland or England.

Robert Cowan's health subsequently broke down and his father wrote to Smith to say that his son couldn't continue his studies with him. Smith wrote to Cowan: "In consideration, my dear Sir, of the esteem in which I hold you both as a private friend and a public character I shall return you the whole of the fee". In reply, Cowan wrote that "This…notwithstanding my numerous family, forms the least ground of the satisfaction your letter has imparted, the *manner* of your doing it and *style* in which you have expressed yourself together with the approbation you have expressed of my boy's conduct with you, all fill my mind and heart with gratitude and pleasure …". In acknowledging the returned monies, Cowan stated that he could not: "Send this document of your friendship (the receipt), without saying I deeply feel it—indeed I do ".[85] Robert Cowan subsequently spent time in a counting house, and the "bottled liquor trade", before joining the Excise Office in London in 1824. On 24th June 1824 we find Cowan sending Smith a haunch of venison. The animal had been badly wounded: "so that your cook must determine how soon it ought to make its appearance on the table". Mrs Cowan and their daughter, Kate, joined him in sending their kind regards to Smith's mother and, childless wife, Eudocia (elsewhere called Eugenia).[86]

[83] *The Evangelical Magazine*, (1820), p. 389; M. J. Crossley Evans, "Christian Missionary Work Among the Seamen and Dock Workers of Bristol, 1820–1914", in J. H. Bettey, (ed.), *Historic Churches and Church Life in Bristol*, (Bristol 2001), p. 168.

[84] G. Munro Smith, *A History of the Bristol Royal Infirmary*, (Bristol 1917), pp. 1, 2, 308–9, 464, 465; A. C. Powell and J.Littleton, *A History of Freemasonry in Bristol*, (Bristol 1910), pp. 194–203 &ff.

[85] B.R.O., MS 35893 (36) l Vol XII, ff. 342, 343, 344, 346, 349, 350, 354, 356.

[86] B.R.O., MS 35893 (36) j—i, Vol X, f. 196.

Of Cowan's other surgical sons, the elder, Richard Cowan (born 1809), was indentured to Smith's friend and colleague at the Infirmary, Richard Lowe (*c.*1780–1850)[87] in 1825, but he also received some tuition from Smith between 1829 and 1830.[88] The younger son, Samuel Brice Cowan (1815–1883), does not appear to have been taught by him, but Smith was sufficiently interested in his career to note in his records that he had passed his examinations for the College of Surgeons in May 1839.[89]

Cowan subsequently placed a great burden on his friendship with Smith. The latter's kindness induced Cowan to reveal his perilous financial situation to him in a letter dated 17th January 1828. "I am, thanks be to God, far from bankrupt circumstances … with some of my losses, you are, I know, already aware, but the difficulties under which I am at this moment keenly smarting arise from recent circumstances". He explained that two people for whom he had acted as surety had recently failed in business by which he would lose about £1,800. "To save myself from being arrested, I gave bills and have every reason fully to expect I should have been perfectly able to meet them from the sale of my Manchester property. But an unexpected demur has arisen from not being able to trace out some of the old title deeds, which are in the possession of another". Whilst he hoped to track them down, this would take time. He was also in treaty with the Marquis of Abercorn, who had extensive estates in Co Tyrone and Co. Donegal, to sell to him a part of his Irish property, which was surrounded by his lordship's, and which was valued at between £9,000 and £10,000. Cowan went on to ask Smith for the temporary loan of £1,000 and offered to pay him interest at 5% and to give him his bond, or any other form of security that he wanted. Cowan concluded by expressing the hope that Smith will not be offended by his requests, and revealed the pressing nature of the emergency. He had bills due on the 29th and 31st January and 1st February for a total of £480, and he hadn't 480 pence about him. The week after he had to honour outstanding bills for £300 to £400 more. Smith appears to have agreed to assist Cowan.[90]

Cowan's alienation from many of his supporters first became manifest in his letter to the editor of *the Bristol Gazette*, dated 12th February 1829,[91] at the time of the bitter controversy over Catholic Emancipation. He stated that although "there is no man more cordially opposed to Popery, both as to its doctrines, and its practices than myself", he did not favour the proposed public meeting to protest at the projected removal of all civil and political disabilities from the Roman Catholics because it would "gender in some, and nourish in all, the bitterness and acrimony of party spirit". He went on to say: "I believe Ireland will become a much safer and pleasanter country in which to reside, after the settlement of this question than it is now". His humane and practical standpoint will have alienated the sympathies of most Tory and Whig Evangelicals, put him in direct opposition to the majority of residents in the city, and to both the Revd William Thorp, Independent minister of Castle Green Chapel

[87] G. Munro Smith op. cit. pp. 2, 128, ff. 294 for Lowe.

[88] B.R.O., MS 35893 (36), j-i, Vol X, ff. 194,195, MS 35893 (36) l Vol XII, ff. 362, 364.

[89] B.R.O., MS 35893 (36) l, Vol XII, f. 343.

[90] B.R.O., MS 35893 (36) I, Vol XII, f. 358.

[91] *The Bristol Gazette*, 12th February 1829, p.3e. His letter is dated 10th February. See *The Bristol Gazette*, 12th February 1829, p.3b; 19th February 1829, p, 4a, b, c, and d; 26th February 1829, p.3b, 4a; 26th March 1829, p. 4a; 5th March 1829,p. 3d; 12th March 1829, p. 3d.

and his friend and former patron, the Revd Martin Whish, vicar of St Mary Redcliffe.[92] Although Cowan received no reply to his letter, an exchange of letters between the Revd John Leifchild and the Revd William Wait (1764–1842),[93] formerly rector of St Mary le Port, led to the latter talking of those "who once professed an evangelical creed, (who) have now become Arian and Socinian; for proof of which, alas! we need not go far from home". Whilst referring to the troubles that were being experienced by the Presbyterian church in Ulster at this time, it contained a sideswipe at Cowan.[94]

It was not only in the field of the emancipation of the Roman Catholics that Cowan showed himself to be enlightened. On 15th April 1829 he took a major part in a public meeting that was held in the Guildhall to petition Parliament against the renewal of the East India Company's charter. The company's monopoly of trade with India and China was opposed by many of the city's merchants and bankers for commercial reasons. Cowan, however, opposed the renewal of the charter on religious grounds. He stated that the practical government of India was "despotic- it is not regulated by principles of justice, of equity, or of humanity…The East India Company had become a loathsome body, fit for dissolution. Their incorporation had led them to build factories by blood, to carry on trade at the sword's point, and to dye the white robe of commercial intercourse red". His objectives were "the improvement of the people of India in industry, morality and religion". In places his address was greeted with cheers although his was a lone voice in considering the wider, non-commercial implications of the Company's monopoly.[95]

Sometime in the 1820s Cowan became involved with the Bristol Auxiliary of the Peace Society.[96] An associate of the London Society, it was formed to circulate tracts which "tend to promote the pacific spirit of the Gospel; by giving a just view of the evils and enormities of war, its inconsistency with the doctrines of Christianity, and its consequent opposition to the true interests of mankind; suggesting means best calculated to maintain permanent and universal peace".[97] Surplus funds were remitted to the parent body "so long as it shall continue free from political discussion". At the ninth anniversary meeting in Wine Street in May 1829, Cowan read the committee's annual report and accounts for the previous year and later addressed the gathering, which was described as being very "numerously and respectably attended".[98]

[92] B.R.O., MS 35893 (36) l Vol. XII, f. 345; see M. Dresser, "Protestants, Catholics and Jews: Religious Differences and Political Status in Bristol, 1750–1850", in *The Making of Modern Bristol*, (ed. M. Dresser and P. Ollerenshaw), (Bristol 1996), pp.96–123.

[93] J. Foster, op. cit., IV, (1888), p.1480, J. Hall, *Blessedness of Walking with God; a sermon preached in the parish church of St James, Bristol, on January 9th 1842 on the occasion of the death of William Wait*, (Bristol 1842).

[94] Wait, publicly resigned as joint secretary of the Bristol Auxiliary of the London Missionary Society, a post he held jointly with Leifchild, over the latter's support for Catholic emancipation.

[95] *The Bristol Gazette*, 16th April 1829, p, 4b, c, and d.

[96] The London Society was founded in 1816 and the Bristol branch on the 27th March 1820, *The Bristol Gazette*, 23rd March 1820, p.3b; 30th March 1820, p.3c.

[97] *Mathews's Bristol Directory*, (1830), pp. 37–8.

[98] *The Bristol Gazette*, 21st May 1829, p. 3d.

Although a number of ministers were present, the only one of importance was the minister of Counterslip Baptist chapel. This far-sighted society lasted a decade and ceased to appear in *Mathews's Bristol Directories* after 1830.

Cowan was a supporter of the Whigs and of the emancipation of the slaves in the British colonies. He became embroiled in the hotly contested election called in 1830 following the death of George IV.[99] The Revd Thomas Roberts in his zeal for the "moral amelioration of the negro, with a view to the gradual and final extinction of slavery in the colonies" supported the candidature of Edward Protheroe Junior for election to the House of Commons together with the "progressive camp" in the city. Protheroe had been nominated for the Whig interest on the Anti-Slavery ticket by two of Cowan's fellow members of the Peace Society, Richard Ash and Christopher George.[100] Roberts came to the erroneous conclusion that Protheroe's opponent, James Evan Baillie, a West India merchant, had opposed a motion in the House condemning the execution of Mr Smith, a missionary in Demerara and asking for the just and humane application of the law to protect the negroes and their voluntary instructors, the missionaries. Roberts drew up a placard attacking Baillie and supporting Protheroe based on this false information, to which the Nonconformist ministers in the city who supported the cause of the slaves appended their signatures. The nine ministers included the Revds Robert Hall, John Leifchild, Thomas Winter, Roberts and Cowan.[101] These placards were then liberally distributed on walls and buildings throughout the city. Charles Pinney, the West India merchant and plantation owner, who was masterminding Baillie's campaign, pointed out the error, and Roberts at once apologised to Baillie, exculpated his clerical colleagues from blame, and signed off his letter, "your conscientious and unbending opponent".[102]

The year 1829 proved to be critical for Cowan and his ministry. The Revd Dr Noah Worcester (1758–1837), sometime Congregational minister of Thornton, New Hampshire, had studied the doctrine of the Trinity at length and published *Bible News or Sacred Truths Relating to the One True Living God, His Only Son, and Holy Spirit, in a series of letters*, (Boston 1812), which, whilst favoured by theological liberals, was severely condemned for his essentially Unitarian conclusions by the Hopkinton Association of ministers in America.[103] Cowan brought out the first English edition of this work, which he published in Bristol in May 1829, "with some prefatory, and concluding observations, and notes, original and otherwise".

Cowan provocatively, but "respectfully and affectionately" dedicated this work to "his valued friends", the Revd James Harington Evans (*c.*1780–1849), who had received believer's baptism from Baring, and was minister of John Street Chapel, Gray's Inn,[104] the Revd Thomas Snow, who had returned to the bosom of the Established Church at some time prior to 1827, when he was curate of Charmouth,

[99] J. Latimer, *The Annals of Bristol in the Nineteenth Century*, (Bristol 1887), pp. 136–8.

[100] A. B. Bevan, *Bristol Lists: Municipal and Miscellaneous*, (Bristol 1899), pp. 65, .171.

[101] Cowan was neither a freeman, nor a freeholder and consequently did not have a vote, *The Bristol Poll Book; being a List of the Freeholders and Freemen who voted at the General Election for Members to serve in Parliament for the City and County of Bristlol*, (1830), (1833).

[102] *The Bristol Gazette*, 29th July 1830. p.3 b and c.

[103] (Ed.) D. Malone, *Dictionary of American Biography*, xx, (1936), pp. 528–9.

[104] F. R. Coad, op. cit., pp. 69–70.

Dorset,[105] and the Revd John Mason of Bartholomew's Yard meeting, Exeter.[106] Mason was then particularly in the news because he had adopted the practice of baptism by immersion. On Sunday, 5th April 1829 a "disgraceful scene" took place in his chapel due to the overcrowding caused by the huge influx of people. In their eagerness to watch the proceedings, people clambered over the pews, and "numbers of both sexes, but principally females, of all ages", were "thrown down, and their shrieks as they were trodden on was terrifically fearful". Cries of "fire" and shouts that the gallery was about to collapse caused some of those present to escape through the windows and allowed the pick pockets who were present to take full advantage of the confusion.[107]

In his prefatory remarks to *Bible News*, Cowan assured all three men of his personal regard. He stated that they had formerly "held in substance" the views advocated by Dr Worcester. All three had now shifted their position and the last two had changed their views on the Trinity. By publishing his provocatively worded prefatory comments, Cowan's avowed intention was to give them the opportunity to prove from Scripture "the rectitude of their present notions", which he confidently affirmed they would be unable to do. He expressed the hope of hearing from each of his three friends individually and asserted that the Scriptures "cannot be reconciled either to Trinitarian or Socinian Doctrine".

A wise man would have allowed these men to change their opinions without challenge, but Cowan, viewed their apostacy from the views which initially drew them out of the Established Church as a personal reflection on his own current position, which had essentially remained unchanged. Not one of the three is known to have responded to Cowan's challenge, either publicly, or privately.

We do not know what the Revd Dr Lant Carpenter, of Lewin's Mead Unitarian Chapel, made of the book or of Cowan's position on the Trinity. Feelings against Unitarians in the city were generally hostile and Dr Carpenter was obliged to write to the editors of *the Bristol Journal*, (who refused to publish his letter), *the Bristol Mirror* and *the Bristol Gazette* at this time to challenge a minister of the Established Church who had claimed that it was "not possible for anyone to love the Redeemer in sincerity who denies his essential Godhead". Dr Carpenter saw this as an excuse for them to deny Unitarians "the right hand of fellowship" and to exclude them "from the honourable field of exertion for the improvement of society".[108] At this critical time, Cowan decided to follow his edition of Dr Worcester's *Bible News* with, *An Affectionate Remonstrance addressed to those who are anxious to exclude Unitarians from the Bible Society* (1831).[109]

The publication of Cowan's books aroused significant protests. The Smith manuscripts include a tantalizing and undated advertisement for an anonymous pamphlet, a copy of which has not been traced:

[105] J. A. Venn, op. cit., Part 2, IV p. 586.

[106] J. Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses…1715–1886*, III, (Oxford 1888), p.924.

[107] *The Bristol Gazette*, 16th April 1829. p.4d.

[108] *The Bristol Gazette*, 24th December 1829, p.4d.

[109] The only copy of this that I have found is that listed in the American *National Union Catalogu*. It was published by J. Chilcott, in Bristol, pp. 23.

"Just published (Price Two Pence) And to be had of the author 37, Mardyke, Hotwells Road,[110] and of the Printer, *Radical Infidelity and Atheism on the Stool of Repentance: ...Being the Substance of a letter to the Revd. T. C. Cowan, Preacher of N ...[111]. at Bethesda, Bristol, Explanatory of Certain and Wilful Apostacy from the Faith, by the public's very faithful servant, whose real name will appear in the letter*".[112]

When the crisis came Cowan sent a very long printed letter to his congregation. He appealed for unity and expressed the fear that the members would abandon meeting altogether. He stated that some were "willing to impute something out of ourselves perhaps to the preacher whose manner or matter now pains or disgusts us". He concluded this lengthy document by asking the congregation to go to the chapel vestry on 30th March 1831 to sign a covenant. [113] Cowan's attempts to heal the rift failed. The congregation broke up before April 1832 and the ministry of the noted Plymouth Brethren, the Revds George Muller and Henry Craik began in Bethesda on 6th July 1832.[114]

COWAN AND MRS SARAH CONNER (1770–1833).

At this time Cowan must have been in a desperate state both emotionally and financially. In this crisis he had a stroke of good fortune. Sometime, probably shortly after the break up of his congregation early in 1832, Cowan was introduced to an elderly Irish widow, Mrs Sarah Conner, and became a frequent and welcome guest in her home. Subsequently her son, William Conner, gentleman of Cork, hearing that his mother was unwell came to visit her at her home 8, the Polygon, Clifton. Here he claims to have found her "very ill, her house stripped in a great measure of its furniture, and herself left in a comparative state of destitution" and everything made over to the Revd T. C. Cowan. When Conner met Cowan and demanded the restitution of his birthright, Cowan reputedly told him:

"I care not for the opinions of men ... I will take this opportunity of informing you that I do not care one straw what you, Mrs Conner, or the whole world think of my conduct because I live for another world, and am to be judged by God, and not by man. He who lives on the opinion of the world is a slave; and I also know that I cannot live down evil speaking, I cannot talk it down".

[110] Unfortunately *Mathews's Bristol Directories* for this period were name and not street directories. A search of *The Register of Electors for Bristol*, (1832), and (1834), in conjunction with the directories has failed to identify the author. A search of the rate books of the parishes of St. Andrew, Clifton, and St. Augustine for the period, which are held in the B.R.O., has been equally unsuccessful.

[111] The meaning is obscure, but it is probably is intended to inform the public that Cowan was a Neologian or German Rationalist, one who admitted the principle facts of the Bible, but explained away the miracles and held the Lord to be "a good and wise philosopher", but denied his divinity, W. F. Hook, op. cit., p. 531.

[112] B.R.O., MS 35893 (36) l, Vol XII, f.370.

[113] B.R.O., MS 35893 (36) l, Vol XII, f. 366. Another copy is to be found in MS 35893 (36) j–i, Vol X, f. 200.

[114] F. R. Coad, op. cit., pp. 41–2, K & A. Linton, op. cit. p. 12.

With Mrs Conner's bounty Cowan had built a house in West Town, Backwell, Somerset, which he inscribed, probably in tribute to his wife, Lucinda, "Lucyville Donum Dei 1832".[115]

There followed an acrimonious exchange of letters between Conner and Cowan. Cowan had been introduced into Mrs Conner's household by a maid servant, who was a member of his congregation. Cowan argued that the son had neglected his mother, and had been estranged from her since 1810, when he married a women of whom his mother did not approve. Cowan stated that children had no moral right to their parents' property, and that any bequest should be dependant upon the children's behaviour to their parents. He reported that although Conner had been staying for a week at the Rummer, he had visited his mother only once, and he never thereafter as much as inquired after her health.[116]

One of Conner's circulars came into the hands of the Revd William Gregory (*c.*1805–1853), the young and popular minister of the Hope Independent Chapel, Hotwells.[117] Mrs Conner had formerly been numbered amongst his congregation and his close friends. She had written Hope Chapel into her will, bequeathing £900 towards its work. All went well until a tree, which Mrs Connor greatly admired and which lay within the curtiledge of the chapel, was cut down. For this act of arboricide the legacy was rescinded and the will redrafted.[118]

In the light of the contents of Conner's circular, Gregory, without first speaking with Cowen, wrote a private letter of remonstrance to him. Cowan went on the offensive and published Gregory's letter in the local press.[119] Cowan stated that Gregory, who was unknown to him, was a "very young man, possessing an overweening opinion of his abilities and from his self-complacent consciousness of his own powers endeavouring to force himself into notoriety". He was attacking one, "who has for many years been a kind of public butt for the confederated arrows of the religious world to shoot at". He claims that Gregory cannot substantiate any charge of avarice against him or provide evidence that he ever "used undue methods either to increase my income, evade any debts or repair my losses". Cowan believed that Gregory was motivated by being disappointed because Hope Chapel had not been named in Mrs Conner's new will, and accused him of "spiritual pride and want of moral honesty" and joining " a conspiracy… of disappointed legacy hunters". Gregory said that if he known that Mrs Conner had a son and nine grandchildren he would have declined any bequest made in favour of to Hope Chapel because the gift was an act of injustice "at the expense of the fatherless and his nine children". No mention is made of the fact that the "fatherless" was then in his early 40s.

[115] B.R.O., St. Augustine's Church Rate (1831), p.58, compiled on 11th August 1831, shows Cowan living in Charlotte Street. By the time that the rate for 1832 (p.59) was compiled on 24th August 1832 the house was empty.

[116] W. Conner, *A Plain Statement of the Ways and Means whereby Mr Thomas Conolly Cowan has become possessed of his present residence at Backwell, Somersetshire, to which he has given the name Lucyville, Donum Dei 1832*, (Cork 1833), p.10.

[117] I. Jones, *Bristol Congregationalism: City and County*, (Bristol 1947), p. 37.

[118] B.R.O., The will of Sarah Conner, widow, (1833), dated 11th August 1832.

[119] *The Bristol Mirror*, 4 May 1833, p.4, c and d.

Cowan was stated by Gregory to have been guilty of playing upon Mrs Conner's "credulity and mental weakness" and it was believed that Cowan's ascendancy over her was due to her having been " kept in a state of half intoxication lest she should listen to reason". Gregory reported that once Mrs Conner's "wooden idol" fell, Cowan began paying visits to her. Cowan stated that the aggregated value of Mrs Conner's gifts to him (including her bequests) would not exceed £1,500.[120]

Cowan inquired of Gregory: "Perhaps you are congratulating yourself in having stepped forward and volunteered your services in dragging this reptile to light and exhibiting the monster of hypocrisy in his true colours to the world?" Gregory claimed, "There is no lack of witnesses to prove this revolting story". Cowan called upon him to prove what he has written, asserting that he "will never restore to Mr William Conner one farthing of what Mrs Conner has given me, and that I retain it with a conscience undefiled by any of your accusations". Gregory was unwillingly dragged into a public controversy by the wounded and maddened Cowan and wrote a public letter to Cowan which was printed in *the Bristol Mirror* on 11th May 1833 to defend his disinterestedness of motive from the ferocious personal assault he had brought upon himself. In it he calls himself the "champion...of the oppressed", and affirms that he has personally seen Mrs Conner's house almost wholly stripped of its furniture, because it was alleged that she was to be robbed. The implication is that Cowan preyed on the old lady's fears in order to obtain possession of her moveable property. A search of the Bristol newspapers of the period, however, shows that many houses in Clifton had been targeted by burglars and there was good reason for her possessions to be moved to a place of safety.[121] Mrs Conner told Gregory that she was "left penniless", and Gregory asked Cowan if he knew where her valuable plate and furniture had gone; if they were, as Mrs Conner believed, in his house, and if their value was included in the £1,500 which was Cowan's estimate of the total value of Mrs Conner's bounty to him? Cowan in a reply printed on the 18th May, leaves most of Gregory's questions unanswered, but claimed Gregory had "made a most unwarrantable attempt to defame the characters of two individuals, both of whom are your superiors in life and both old enough to be your parents". He expressed the hope that this controversy would teach Gregory "modesty, self-diffidence, discretion, and above all humility, lessons you evidently much need to learn". Given the views expressed by Cowan in the printed rules of his *Society of Christians* (1813), which were against marrying ungodly persons as "contrary to the Divine command... nor can any who suffer themselves so to be drawn away by the flesh, be considered any otherwise than as unfaithful to Christ", it is easy to see that he would have had no sympathy with William Conner's decision to marry a woman who was not approved of by his mother and of whose character he will have undoubtedly heard much from Mrs Conner to her demerit.[122]

Among his papers Richard Smith preserved a copy of Cowan's letter to Gregory dated 2nd May 1833.[123] Cowan may have convinced his most faithful adherents, but

[120] *The Bristol Mirror*, 4 May 1833, p.4, c and d.

[121] *The Bristol Gazette*, 28th May 1829, p.3d; 24th December 1829, p. 4d.

[122] T. C. Cowan, *The Nature, Design and General Rules of a Society of Christians*...(Bristol 1813), p.6, Item 5.

[123] *The Bristol Mirror*, 4 May 1833, p.4c and d. See also 11 May, 18 May; B.R.O., MS 35893 (36) j–i, Vol X, ff. 197–8.

how did someone like Richard Smith, who knew the true nature of Cowan's precarious financial situation, react to the Conner Controversy?

Amidst this undignified dispute Mrs Conner, old, petulant, and bewildered, was abandoned by her son and her onetime friend. Although Gregory expressed concern about her spiritual state, with the imminent prospect of her meeting her Creator whilst she was unreconciled to her son, and although he claimed publicly to be her "intimate friend", he did not call. His justification for "declining to call upon her for some time past was a fear that the public would attribute any part of this affair to me. She has sent many invitations, but I deemed it wiser to stand at a distance". The controversy was still raging when Mrs Sarah Conner died at her residence in the Polygon on 29th July 1833 at the age of 63. She was buried in an unmarked grave in Clifton churchyard on 3rd August. [124]

Subsequently, on 28th September 1833, her son wrote to Cowan from Cork and demanded his birthright. Should Cowan refuse, Conner threatened to publish the whole correspondence between Cowan, himself and Gregory, which subsequently appeared in book form. He did not attained his objective, but effectively ruined what was left of Cowan's reputation.[125]

Conner's book appeared two years before Dickens began writing *The Pickwick Papers* and may well have been read by him. As a newspaper reporter he is likely to have been have been aware of the correspondence between Cowan and Conner in the Bristol newspapers, as it was then customary for reporters in the metropolis to scan the provincial newspapers to see if there were pieces that should be inserted into their London counterparts. In these circumstances it is possible that he subsequently used some of the material as a source of inspiration for the characterisation of the "reverend gentleman" of sub-Evangelical character, In chapter LII the expectations of Mr Stiggins, of a legacy for Emmanuel chapel and "the fold" in the will of Mrs Susan Weller are cruelly dashed by young Sam Weller. In reply to the enquiries of the former, Sam tells Stiggins bluntly:

"She hasn't left the fold nothin', nor the shepherd nothin' ". The incredulous Stiggins exclaims:

> "Nothing for me, Mr Samuel?"
> Sam shook his head.
> "I think ther's something," said Stiggins, turning as pale as he could turn. "Consider, Mr Samuel; no little token?"
> "Not so much as the vorth o'that 'ere old umberella o' yourn," replied Sam".

Cowan proved Mrs Conner's will on 16th December 1833 as her sole executor, and swore that the value of her effects was under £100, not the £1,500 which he had confidently mentioned a short while previously.[126]

[124] I am grateful to Mrs M. V. Campbell for this information.

[125] A search through the indices of *The Times* for the last quarter of 1833, and for 1834 and 1835 gives no indication of any legal action by Conner against Cowan following Mrs Conner's death.

[126] B.R.O., Will of Sarah Conner, widow, (1833).

COWAN'S LATER CAREER 1833 TO 1856.

The last phase of Cowan's residence in Bristol spanned 1833 to 1844. Publicly detected in accepting the wealth of a sick, "confused" and elderly woman, he was disgraced, and for the next eleven years he travelled from the ministry of one dissenting chapel to another, until penniless and in debt, he subsisted on financial assistance from his sons.

From 1834 to 1837 he was minister at Guinea Street Chapel.[127] By the latter year he had left Mrs Connor's gift, Lucyville in Backwell and had settled at Woodbine Cottage, Back Lane, Bedminster. He later moved to 5, Carlton Place, North Street, where he was living at the time of the 1841 Census with his faithful unmarried daughter, Kate, a maid and a lodger. Between 1837 and 1842 he was minister of Salem Chapel, St Augustine's Parade, [128] and finally between 1841 and 1844 at Alden's Court Chapel, Broadmead.[129]

In 1844, some months after the death of his friend, Dr Richard Smith, he left Bristol. By 1849 he resided in Reading, where his son Dr Charles Cowan (1806–1868), was a physician to the Royal Berkshire Hospital. [130] On 12th August 1851 he made his will and described himself as: "formerly a so called ordained minister of the national Parliamentary Religious Establishment and for 34 years an increasingly thankful seceder from her communion". He noted that he had very little of substance to leave and that his wife had relinquished the jointure allocated to her in their marriage settlement to enable him to sell his Irish lands.[131] This must have taken place after his letter to Dr Richard Smith on the subject in 1828. Cowan was resident in Reading with his wife and daughter at 26, Southampton Street at the time of the 1851 Census,[132] and it was here that he died on 7th February 1856 aged 79 years, of old age, [133] He left debts of £830, not including the £200 which had been advanced to him at various times by his son, Dr Cowan.

[127] Guinea Street Chapel was used as a place of worship by the Wesleyan Methodists in 1820, *Mathews's Annual Bristol Directory*, (1820), p.13. In 1830 it was disused. *Mathews's* (1831), p.270, and *Mathews's* (1834), p.25, list it as the home of the Independent congregation of Francis Thoresby. There is no mention of the chapel after 1845.

[128] Salem Chapel was founded as the chapel of the Countess of Huntingdon's Connection in the old Assembly Room. It served the congregation as their place of worship between 1775 and 1831, G. F. Stone, *Bristol: As It Was- And As It Is: A Record of Fifty Years' Progress*, (Bristol 1908), pp.149, 150; R. Winstone, *Bristol As It Was 1866–1860*, (Bristol 1967), plate 9. *Mathews's Annual Bristol Directory*, (1838), pp.33–4, (1840), pp.36, 84, (1841), p.32.

[129] Alden's Court Chapel, Broadmead, was probably the poorest building of the three. In 1820 it was the home of a non-denominational body of Christians under the ministry of H. C. Howell, of St. James's Place, *Mathews's Annual Bristol Directory*, (1820), p.12. He remained there until 1823, but in 1824, p.12, there was no minister. In 1825,p.12 and in 1826 was said to be the home of a congregation called "Form of Government Independent". It disappears from the directory in 1827 and does not reappear until Cowan's ministry. (1843), p.42, (1844), p.42. There is no mention of the chapel after this date, and the building may have been subsequently used for commercial purposes.

[130] F. Boase, *Modern English Biography*, I, (1892), pp. 734–5.

[131] P.R.O., PROB 11, 2226, ff. 357–8.

[132] P.R.O., H.O. 107/1692, f.662, 26.

[133] Death certificate.

The Berkshire Chronicle for 9th February 1856 carried a brief notice of his death. In his will Cowan stated: "as to what I would wish to have done concerning my funeral I have given dull directions and expressed my wishes at length in a separate paper". His final resting place is unknown and has not been found following a search of all possible cemeteries in Reading, nor was he buried at Kenton, or in the churchyard of St Andrew, Clifton, where his name appears on the tombstone of his widow.[134]

Cowan's widow, Lucinda Martha, divided her closing years between Weston-super-Mare, and 9, Park Place, Clifton, where she resided with her daughter, Kate, her youngest son, Alexander and his wife. It was here that she died on the 2nd March 1861, aged 79 years, and from here that she was buried in the churchyard attached to St Andrew's, Clifton, where her husband began his fateful curacy over half a century before.

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[134] I am grateful to Mr John Liddle, the Director of Leisure Services at Reading Borough Council, for eliciting that he was not buried in any of the cemeteries or graveyards of Reading. Letters, 28th November and 17th December 1991.

XVIII

The Library of the University of Bristol, 1876–1975

NICHOLAS LEE

THIS is an attempt to provide an informal record of the Library (now part of the Information Services of the University of Bristol) in its first hundred years and in particular of the people who created its collections, and contributed their archives and books or simply their time and effort to it. We now think of universities as serving a national (and, increasingly, an international) need, but this was not always the case: local people and places are inescapably present in this brief account. It was a period in which the need to build up collections and the actual lack of funds were uneasy bedfellows, and in which donations and bequests had a particular importance. The books and archives mentioned here are for the most part unlikely to be replaced by their electronic counterparts and seem to be used more frequently as the need to find research material grows.

If one attends a degree congregation within the architectural splendours of the University's Great Hall or walks along the corridor to the reassuringly traditional Wills Memorial Library, it is hard to believe that one hundred and forty years ago this was not even a dream. The nation had not yet accepted responsibility for primary education; the number attending Bristol Grammar School was only in double figures; the first modern school for girls (Cheltenham) had only just been established; the University of London had not yet started to offer its special examinations (with certificates) to women; there were few provincial university colleges; attempts to provide scientific and practical education in Bristol had fallen into the bitter political and religious divide in the city. Yet in the 1860s the subject of education was being greatly talked about in Bristol. The main agitator was the Reverend John Percival, the dynamic headmaster of the newly founded Clifton College, who had far reaching ideas about promoting the higher education of women, providing evening classes to meet the needs of ordinary working people and putting in place primary education for all. Gradually his thoughts turned also to setting up a local University College, something more Liberal than the Colleges of Science that were being spoken of in other industrial cities like Birmingham. This, he thought, could only be achieved with the active involvement of Oxford and Cambridge.[1] His pamphlet *The Connection of the Universities and the Great Towns* was not short of suggestions, some of which were to be taken up by Benjamin Jowett, the Master of Balliol College, who already knew Percival. The presence of both men at the public meeting organised by Gilbert Elliot, the Dean of Bristol, in the Victoria Rooms on June 11th 1874 made the eventual

[1] Derek Winterbottom, *John Percival the Great Educator*. Bristol Historical Association, 1993.

setting up of University College, Bristol very likely.[2] It was also becoming clear that the new college would need to be open to women on equal terms with men, to provide evening as well as daytime courses, and to devise some nationally accepted system of accreditation.

Something of the stir of excitement, particularly among the Liberal middle-class inhabitants of Clifton is captured in a letter from John Addington Symonds to Mrs Arthur Hugh Clough who had been offered a place on the Board of the Examinations Committee:

> The whole great sea of education is agitated and the female billow is a big one … I hear from my sister and a connection of the Marshalls, a Miss Douglas, that a Ladies Education scheme is going on in Clifton. If I get home to England soon enough I think I shall try to put my finger into that pie. I have for so long been cutting off fingers… and keeping away from pies that I almost laugh at the notion of my engaging in any kind of the most trivial action. But it ought to come. [3]

This letter was written in Monaco, where Symonds was coming to terms with a complete breakdown of health and confidence, and is dated 31st March 1868, just before his return to Clifton, first to Victoria Square and then Clifton Hill House, where Jowett, his tutor at Oxford and lifelong confidant had often been the guest of his father.

He was soon to devote his restless nervous energy to giving programmes of lectures to the sixth-formers at Clifton College and the Society for the Higher Education of Women, Clifton, the Secretary of which was Catherine Winkworth.

When, within cruelly narrow limits of finance and accommodation, the University College opened in 1876 in a glum house on Park Row, women were not on its Council, but they were very much in evidence behind the scenes, especially the Winkworth sisters, Louisa Percival, Agnes Beddoe, and soon the great Mary Paley Marshall. The constituency of the new College was at first as ill-defined as its syllabus for there had been little opportunity for higher education in Bristol before, but it was at least clear that it offered places equally to men and women. This was also to be the case with the Medical School when it entered into association with the College a little later.

At first the funding was inadequate even to pay for enough teaching staff, let alone start a library, for the Bristol mercantile establishment, suspicious of Liberals, Nonconformists and Clifton intellectuals, remained aloof and did not commit itself to giving financial support. The Calendar for 1883/4 makes mention for the first time of "a small library" attached to the College. This becomes "a library" in the following year, "the College Library" in 1888/9 and "the Library of the Faculty of Arts and Science" (or Arts and Science Library) from 1893. It is likely that during this period small class libraries also accumulated, the origin of some of the departmental libraries

[2] J.W. Sherborne, *University College, Bristol, 1876–1909*. Bristol Historical Association, 1977. Elliot's role is discussed by Joseph Bettey, "Contrasting Clerics in Nineteenth-Century Bristol…," in *Historic Churches and Church Life in Bristol*; edited by Joseph Bettey, 2001, p. 201.

[3] Quoted by Margaret Symonds, *Out of the Past*, 1925, p. 114–6.

of later years, but there is little documentary evidence of these before 1909.[4] In the Calendar for 1889/90, James Rowley, the affable Professor of Modern History and Modern Literature, makes a separate appearance as Honorary Librarian, but his remit would not have extended to class libraries or to that of the recently established Day Training College for Women [Teachers] headed by Marian Fry Pease. By 1892 the College had at last found enough money to erect a Medical Building on a site behind the Museum (then in the Venetian Gothic building at present occupied by Brown's Restaurant). This included a purpose-built reading-room of dignified appearance, though incapable of expansion and soon outgrown. The Library it contained was older, larger and more distinguished than the Arts and Science Library, resulting from a merger of the collections of the Medical School and the Bristol Medico-Chirurgical Society founded in 1890 with those of the Bristol Royal Infirmary and the Bristol General Hospital.[5] In addition to current medical books and periodicals it contained prestigious collections of early medical texts and works on mineral waters and spas. These would eventually be augmented in 1950 when Bath City Council donated the Libraries of Caleb Hillier Parry and John Smith Soden. The latter, an original member of the British Medical Association, was also Surgeon to the Royal United Hospital, Bath to which both libraries were originally presented. The first Honorary Librarian of the Medical Library was Dr L.M. Griffiths, appointed in 1894.

Alfred Marshall, who became the first Principal of the College in 1878, was clearly the right person for this difficult job even though he was seldom in good health and he found its financial problems burdensome. He had been a Maths teacher at Clifton College and become part of the circle of serious and reform-minded people who were promoting education, Percival and his wife, J.A. Symonds, Gilbert Elliot and his daughter, Henry Dakyn, Henry Sidwick, Symonds' brother in law T.H. Green and others, and this remained the circle among whom he and his wife moved after his return to Bristol. For the most part, these were Clifton people and, as one would expect, Liberals. In her later reminiscences, Mary Paley Marshall also includes in her circle of real friends, the Frys, the Peases, Frank Tuckett, the mountaineer—all of whom were Quakers—and John Beddoe, medical doctor to many of those already mentioned and a renowned anthropologist.[6]

The opportunity which the poorly equipped College offered (especially to young women) was grabbed with both hands. To judge from May Pease's reminiscences it appeared little short of a liberation. The mere opportunity to discuss serious subjects was intoxicating, and Mary Marshall "represented Newnham and the cause of the higher education of women." Her account of a lecture by Alfred Marshall vividly conveys the atmosphere:

[4] The origin of the Departmental Libraries is not well documented. One that is known is that of the Maria Mercer Physics Library: a Council Minute of 2.2.1923 states "That it has decided to allow the interest from the Maria Mercer bequest …to accumulate with the view of establishing an endowment for a Library in the Department of Physics which shall be known as the Maria Mercer Library."

[5] A.E.S. Roberts, "The Medical Library of the University of Bristol," *Medical Journal of the South-West* (1958), 12–14.

[6] Mary Paley Marshall, *What I Remember*, 1947.

> He spoke without notes and his face caught the light from the window while all else was in shadow. That lecture seemed to me the most wonderful I had ever heard. He told us of his faith that economic science had a great future in furthering the progress of social improvement, and his enthusiasm was infectious. I think the whole audience must have listened as breathlessly as I did.[7]

Marshall advised his women students to prepare for the Cambridge Higher Local Examination, and many did. May Pease would have a long career in the College and elsewhere and as co-founder of the University Settlement at Barton Hill. Two of the more exotic of her fellow students were Katherine Bradley and Edith Cooper, aesthetically dressed, Catholics, lovers, and conjointly the poet Michael Field (in whose works, all of which the Library has, there has recently been a revival of interest). More typical, perhaps, were the troops of Quaker Sturges[8] from one of the new Woodland Road villas. Emily Sturge became the first woman member of the Bristol School Board, arguing the case there for setting up the Women's Day Training College and attaching it to University College. Some of her contemporaries went on to become teachers and even professors at the College and elsewhere. . One was Henry Selby Hele-Shaw, struggling to educate himself as an engineer while caring for his orphan brothers. He later became Professor of Engineering at the College (1881–5) before going on to a chair at Liverpool University. Another was Arthur Mannering Tyndall whose interest in Physics was kindled at the College by Professor Arthur Chattock, and who himself was to be a very effective Professor of Physics at the University of Bristol and a great encourager of research. In later years he was a frequent after-dinner speaker about the early days of the College and the University, and a tireless amasser of documents and scraps of information about the College all of which are now in the Library, to which both Hele-Shaw and he donated many books. According to May Pease, the lack of a decent library at the College was mitigated by Rowley, Alfred Marshall and the other lecturers loaning their own books to students. After the College's move to its new buildings, students might use the nearby Bristol Museum and Reference Library, which had itself only recently opened in 1871 but contained a large proprietary library founded in the latter part of the eighteenth century:

> The Librarian, John Taylor, was a good adviser and allowed one, only too readily, to rummage in the shelves, and was only too easy about the issue and date of return of valuable books. I believe a good many books were lost under his kindly and easy-going regime but it was a very pleasant one for students. When the City Library moved from King Street to College Green this library became part of it.

It was John Taylor who had proposed the formation of an Archaeological Society in Bristol and Gloucestershire, and this held its first meeting in 1876. He became Bristol City Librarian in 1883, but died only ten years later, long before the move to College Green in 1906. Alfred Marshall's all-too-brief stint as Principal of University College is best commemorated by the textbook which he and his wife wrote while they were

[7] Marion Fry Pease, *Some Reminiscences of University College, Bristol*, 1942 (University of Bristol Library, Special Collections, DM219).

[8] Margaret Goodbody, *Five Daughters in Search of Learning: the Sturge Family, 1829–1944*, not published, 1986 (University of Bristol Library, Special Collections, DM 1412).

here, but there is also a massive, dimly Gothic, bookcase as one enters the Library's Special Collections area, bearing the inscription "The books contained herein were given to University College, Bristol by Mrs Marshall, Lecturer on Political Economy, this bookcase being provided by the students...in recognition of the value of the teaching given by Alfred Marshall M.A. first Principal of this College (1878–1881) ...and by Mrs Marshall. April 1882."

On the subject of dedications and commemorations it is interesting to note that the College's Arts and Science Library was once known as the Exley Library (thus in the 1907/8 Calendar). This title has its origin in the most prestigious bequest of books which it had yet received, which had come in 1899 from John Thompson Exley, remembered in *Bristol Worthies* as a "tall spare man with very sloping shoulders, wearing beard and whiskers closely clipped, who for a long time carried on a large boys' school at Cotham, near Highbury Chapel."[9] He had been vice-principal of the short-lived Bristol College, which had been supported mainly by Liberals and Nonconformists. After this closed he had prepared students for the recently introduced Matriculation examination for the University of London before opening the school at 1, Cotham Road. Exley's own books were mainly recent mathematical and technical treatises, but his collection also included the fine library assembled by his father Thomas Exley (1775–1855), another Mathematics teacher and a guiding spirit at the Portland Street Methodist Chapel, but also a significant natural philosopher, who had edited the important *Imperial Encyclopaedia* of 1812. This includes many works by Isaac Barrow, Roger Cotes, Colin MacLaurin, Benjamin Martin, Sir Isaac Newton, Nicholas Saunderson and Thomas Simpson, with the rare 2nd edition of Abraham Fletcher's *Universal Measurer and Mechanic*, a distinguished collection indeed. The hitherto wretched Arts and Science Library could now take itself more seriously: cataloguing was in progress, and it had recently been given its own reading room, with a large hall above for meetings and examinations. Vain attempts had been made in 1897 to fundraise for this, but two years later the banker and great traveller and collector Vincent Stuckey Lean had donated the necessary £5,000, and an attractive building which was for a while named after him was put up in Museum [later University] Road next to the Medical Wing. The ground floor of this now houses the Geographical Sciences Library. Lean was subsequently to donate a great deal more money to build the new City Library on College Green, the destined home for his collections of proverbs, folklore and superstitions.[10]

In 1901, with the books and periodicals now properly housed, Ernest Sibree was appointed Honorary Librarian, the word Honorary being dropped from 1906. He was to keep his post through the wilderness years in which both Arts and Science and Medical Libraries were banished to temporary homes in the nearby Bristol Blind Asylum and Volunteers' Drill Hall until 1922/3 when part of the Wills Memorial Building came into use. To give him credit, the necessary order was preserved in these much-resented makeshifts, and photographs reproduced in the informative *The University of the West, Bristol* (1921) reveal snug book-lined rooms, an eighteen-drawer

[9] *Bristol Worthies*; ed. A.B. Freeman, 1909. See C.J. Spittal, "Three Generations of the Exley Family in Bristol Education and Methodism 1800–1901." *Trans. Bristol & Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 111 (1993), 201–213.

[10] Described in *Lean's Collectanea*, 1902.

catalogue, a library attendant hard at work and no shortage of diligent readers. In addition to his library duties, Sibree was Lecturer in Charge of the Department of Oriental Languages, and he found time to preach at the Lewins Mead Meeting and to his own Unitarian Church in Oakfield Road, and to read and translate Welsh to his wife Kate each evening in their house in Manor Park, Redland. His appointment was not the mere result of chance, for nine of his twelve years as a commoner at Oxford had been spent as Librarian of the Indian Institute there. He is now a somewhat forgotten figure, with even his linguistic abilities overshadowed by those of his father, the friend of George Eliot and translator of Hegel's *Lectures on the Philosophy of History*.[11]

By the time Sibree took up his appointment the number of full-time students at the College had risen to 220 and that of full-time lecturers and professors to 23; Gilbert Elliot had been succeeded as President by Benjamin Jowett; William Ramsay had been succeeded as Principal by Conwy Lloyd Morgan, the Professor of Zoology and Geology, who would become better known as a contributor to the relatively new science of Psychology. Lloyd Morgan was of memorable appearance, especially when mounted on his string-saddled bicycle, his beard either draped over the handlebar or floating behind him as he cycled in all weathers to classes or to meetings. In the midst of incessant managerial and financial anxieties, he wrote and wrote, and his many books and papers were eventually added to the Library at the end of his long life. His difficult job had at least been made possible by the first grant (of £1,200 a year) from central Government, and Bristol had followed suit with a capital grant of £2,000 in 1896. Yet the financial predicament of the College remained real enough. It was only the commitment of the staff and the tenacity of a small group of supporters that kept the doors open. Foremost among these were Albert and Lewis Fry, between them Chairmen of Council for an unbroken thirty-two years. The ever-reliable Fry family made a quite disproportionately large contribution to the College, its campaign for a University Charter, and to life in Bristol generally. A characteristically modest tribute to Albert Fry is to be found in the Fry Tower, attached to one of the College buildings in what is now called University Road. Hundreds walk past it each day without reading the plaque; hundreds of books in the Library bear (equally unnoticed) the bookplates or donor labels of his son Albert Magnus Fry. Fine collections of books were also given or bequeathed by Lady Fry, the wife of Sir Edward Fry of Failand House, and their daughter Agnes, who, in addition to her botanical interests was a poet and a friend of John and Constance Masefield. May Pease in her unpublished *Notes on the Fry Family of Sutton Benger and Bristol, 1627–1921,* does justice to her Uncle Albert's good humoured persistence in wrestling with the College's endless financial difficulties. His experience as the managing director of a large engineering firm supplying railway carriages also led him to promote the study of Engineering in the College. He was succeeded as Chairman of Council by his brother Lewis, a solicitor and at one time MP for Bristol North, who lived at Goldney House, which during the campaign for the Charter became a centre for meetings, social gatherings, and, indeed, plotting. He came to be a good friend of Benjamin Jowett, and, according to

[11] See "Ernest Sibree (1859–1927)", by W. Tudor Jones in *Aspects of the History of Stanton Drew*, 1927; Aidan Dodson, "Ernest Sibree: a Forgotten Pioneer of Bristol Egyptology" (awaiting publication).

his niece "the two old gentlemen…used to sit up together half the night in humorous or serious conversation."

The brother who had been most active in the family firm was Francis Fry, who built Tower House next to the old snuff mill known as Cotham Tower. Both house and tower are now gone, though the latter is still the emblem of Cotham School, which was built over the site. Francis, seriously involved in local affairs and charities, found time to be a significant bibliographer and collector of bibles. Dismissed by one of his contemporaries as "a maker of chocolate and bibles which he makes up from imperfect copies," he was, in fact, a major contributor to knowledge in this field. His collection of Bibles was eventually purchased by the British and Foreign Bible Society.[12] Francis Fry seems to have started something of a cottage industry of taking books apart and remaking them. His son John Doyle Fry amassed a vast collection of prints, mainly portraits and views, from which he produced extra-illustrated books in fine bindings. One such, massively augmented and bound up for presentation by Priscilla A. Fry was *The Annals of Bristol.* This contains an interesting autograph letter about local politics by its author, John Latimer, her neighbour in Trelawney Road. This, with other extra-illustrated books, was given to the Library by Miss E.B. Fry, together with her father's collection of prints, now known as the Fry Portrait Collection.

Members of the Wills family were soon to take over from the Frys as the campaign for the charter gathered momentum and the financial stakes were raised, but their contribution was to be far more than the signing of very large cheques. Unlike that of the Frys, it is fairly well documented.[13] In many respects the Wills were like the Frys, from a relatively humble background somewhat outside the Bristol commercial establishment, although they were Independents (Congregationalists) rather than Quakers. Like the Frys they tended to live below their incomes and donate the remainder to good causes, including the University and local hospitals. In 1908, as is well known, Henry Overton III Wills donated the necessary £100,000 which enabled the humble University College to gain its charter as the University of Bristol; William Henry Wills (Lord Winterstoke) gave a further £35,000; and, between 1913 and 1920 Sir George Alfred Wills (Treasurer 1909–18, Pro-Chancellor 1911–28, Chairman of Council 1914–26) and Henry Herbert Wills (Member of Council 1913–22, Pro-Chancellor 1918–22) gave over £500,000. But, in addition to their time and money, they gave their wholehearted attention, and they were constantly on the lookout for property for the new University: George bought the Victoria Rooms for use as the University Union; then came the halls of residence in Clifton Wood and Stoke Bishop and the Royal Fort estate. Harry, who lived in St Vincent's, Clifton Park and had been one of the first students at University College, was responsible for funding the building of the Physics Laboratory, in which ground-breaking discoveries were soon to be made; he was also responsible for Wills Hall, and (through his wife Dame Monica Wills) for its chapel and for the nearby St Monica's Home. The monetary value of these gifts would, in today's terms, probably be hundreds of millions of pounds. One rather interesting family member who is rather less often mentioned is Douglas Wills. He

[12] See the article by David J. Hall in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, also Theodore Fry, *A Brief Memoir of Francis Fry, FSA, of Bristol*, not published, 1887.

[13] See also S.J. Watson, *Furnished with Ability: the Lives and Times of the Wills Families*, 1991.

was the son of Walter Melville Wills of Bracken Hill, Leigh Woods, who bought and gave to the National Trust much of the land on the Somerset side of the Avon Gorge, and was also a pro-chancellor of the University and a founder of a Chair in Physics. Douglas, who died in 1973, was a farmer (at Barley Wood) and Chairman of the Bristol Agricultural Committee and of the Somerset War Agricultural Executive Committee. The importance of his role in the University's Long Ashton Agricultural Research Station is immediately obvious if one dips into its vast archive.

Of course there were many other supporters and subscribers to the University in its early days, often drawn from the large Nonconformist population of Bristol, to whom the non-denominational tradition established by the University College at the outset had been a definite attraction. They were usually Liberal in politics. Conservative and Anglican interests had tended to remain suspicious and aloof, and had, indeed, funded the Merchant Venturers Technical College in direct rivalry and in protest at the University College's academic and cultural aspirations. This standoff had had serious implications for the University College's funding, as well as complicating and hindering the progress of Science and Engineering in both colleges, and in 1899 a new Colston Society had been founded as a non-sectarian, non-political agency for fundraising. The speaker at its first Dinner was John Percival, by now a somewhat reluctant Bishop of Hereford, but as keen a supporter of the University College as ever.

The granting of the Charter in 1909 and the easing of the funding problem made possible a large building programme and all kinds of developments, many of which had to be put on hold during the First World War. The Library, however, in spite of a number of useful gifts, was still relatively undeveloped and in temporary accommodation. Once the War was over, attempts were made to bring the stock under better control, and several stock lists were drawn up in 1919. The list relating to the Arts makes dismal reading and reveals a lack of early books or those of a kind to support research. No policy of adding material to allow for future developments is discernible. The lack of distinction must have been evident, for in 1920, *Minutes of Council* acknowledges the receipt of a grant of £2,000 "for the purpose of bringing the Library up to date as far as possible" (p. 67–8).

William Luther Cooper is listed in the University Calendars from 1913/4 to 1917/8 as an Assistant Lecturer in English and History, although he cannot have been present for much of that time as on 2nd January 1915 he is reported as expecting to receive a commission in the army, and he went on to gain a distinguished military record. He had attended Wadham College, Oxford and been for a while librarian at Exeter College. After the War he resurfaced as Lecturer in Modern History before taking up an appointment (at £600 a year) as the first "whole-time" Librarian in 1923. The timing of the new appointment was deliberate for, although the date in the plasterwork above the oriel window in the Wills Memorial Library is 1922, the new library was not in fact ready until the following summer. It offered a tremendous opportunity to a man with an ability to organise effectively, and in Council Minutes for October 19, 1923 it was reported that "the General Library had been moved to the new buildings, the books reclassified, and the catalogue completely revised." In appearance the new accommodation was reassuringly (though somewhat deceptively) like that of an Oxford college. It had a galleried reading room for Arts and Science, a Medical Library beneath, and under that again a stack room. There was also a dignified room

in which the Library Committee could meet, and some (by modern standards hopelessly inadequate) offices from which to run the University Library system (for system it soon became). The immaculate accessions register was begun on 26th February 1923, and by 1925 a union catalogue had been completed. The corresponding union catalogue of periodicals was to be produced by Cooper's Assistant (and from 1925 Deputy) Librarian, James Shum Cox. As the latter was eventually to become Librarian in his turn, Cooper's influence was to persist until 1966, a long time for the Library to carry on without any radical change. The Vice Chancellor, Thomas Loveday, was also in for the long haul, remaining in post from 1922 until 1944, and he too was a scholarly figure and a discerning collector of books. Stability and growth was the name of the game until the end of the Second World War. Cooper had the opportunity to build and shape an important library, and he did not waste it. The census which he took at the start of his job reveals a small library of 62,246 volumes inclusive of the books and periodicals in the most far flung sections of the University—the Engineering Library (since 1909 in the Merchant Venturers Technical College) and the Agricultural and Horticultural Library at Long Ashton. By 1946 the Library was more than twice the size.

Cooper was an able administrator, as can be seen in his detailed and careful planning of the new wing of the library which it soon became necessary to add to George Oatley's original design, and in the depressing task of choosing, packing and dispatching the most irreplaceable books and periodicals to safe underground storage for the duration of the war. These things he took in his stride; but his real strength was that he understood the needs of research, especially in Literature and History, areas in which the Library had formerly been so deficient. He bought the basic reference works, greatly expanded the periodicals, and started collecting systematically in particular areas, sometimes controversially. Fortunately, one of his less fashionable ideas—an all-male staff—was not followed up.

It is sad that he never saw the new wing of the Library used for the purposes that he had intended, and sad that the exhibition room which he designed and was later named in his honour is (since the removal of the Arts and Social Sciences Library to Tyndall Avenue) empty of the collections that he had created, and of which he was justifiably proud. Yet he would surely be pleased to see that they are now getting a lot more use. His aim was not to accumulate bibliographical rarities but to build collections of works essential for research. This is clear from a letter which he wrote to his successor Francis Kent in 1950 (in reference to an article by the latter in the *Journal of Documentation*) explaining that the early editions of English philosophical writers that he had collected were bought not because of their early date but because these were the *only* editions available, and that (in what had already come to be called the Courtesy Books collection) the books on manners and correct behaviour were in fact greatly outnumbered by those on educational theory and practice.[14] But no one could quarrel with Kent's main point about Cooper's period as Librarian

> He added important works of reference…in great numbers, and his flair for book-selection and book-buying enriched the Library with fine collections of source

[14] W.L. Cooper to F.L. Kent, 2.11.1950. The article had appeared in the *Journal of Documentation*, 5 (1949), 131–5.

material in a wide variety of subjects, sets of periodicals and publications of learned societies and standard and critical editions of all kinds.

And, in his obituary by William Beare, the Professor of Latin, we read "a friend described him to me in those busy and creative years as the happiest man in the University." He and his wife lived in an apartment in Royal Fort House, and he was by all accounts a kindly host and a delightful companion on the walks and rides across Exmoor in which he delighted. He may have been criticised for some of the special collections which he created—they included county history, cartography, landscape gardening and early English novels, as well as the two already mentioned—but had they not been bought then, the Library could never have afforded to do so later. In 1927, when he bought his first landscape gardening book—Humphry Repton's *Observations on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening* (1805)—for £25, Cooper must have felt that he was sailing close to the wind, for Mr R.B. Hay was persuaded to defray the cost, but the book is now used too frequently for its own good, and other works by Repton were to follow. One of Cooper's main suppliers of this rather specialised material was John Gregory of Bath, and it was through him that a number of early novels from Badminton House came into the possession of the Library.

But his undoubted skill in spotting good books was not the only factor in play. From the accessions registers—they were to be kept up manually into the 1970s—it is possible to trace the provenance of the many gifts of books. Some came from the traditional supporters of the College and University, like Agnes Maud Allen of Richmond Park Road, Clifton, who in 1936 bequeathed a collection of 700 very desirable books on architecture, art and topography. Frank Tuckett, the intrepid mountaineer of the Dolomites, of the Old House, Frenchay Common, did not forget to leave to the Library in 1926 his great collection of Egyptian, Arabian and other exploration and antiquities. This also contained, somewhat unexpectedly, Luther's *Tischreden* of 1576 in its original blind-stamped pigskin binding complete with brass clasps. Catherine Symonds had once mocked him and his entourage of Quaker Ladies for their Fortnum & Mason's picnic hamper style of mountaineering.[15]

Many of the most generous donors were, or had been members of the teaching staff or of Council or Court and their families. The Fry and Wills families have already been mentioned in this respect, and a useful example of their generosity is the collection of works by Hannah More, the Bristol Educator, donated by Dame Monica Wills. The list of staff members who have donated books would be too long to read without fatigue, and it includes world-renowned researchers and others of purely local relevance. A random sample might include P.J. Worsley, R.H. Edgeworth, Conwy Lloyd Morgan, J. Segall, Helen Wodehouse, W. Sefton-Clarke, Cecil Powell, E.W. Hey-Groves and Henry Hobhouse. Two from this short list have buildings named after them; three have entries in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*; another has an entry in *Who Was Who*; all were busy people who simply got on with the job in hand.

If we take Henry Hobhouse (1854–1937) as an example, an outline of his high-flying career—Eton, Balliol, the Bar, Parliament—would mislead, for he was essentially a

[15] Margaret Symonds, *Out of the Past*, 1925, p.141–3. She quotes her mother's letter to Charlotte Symonds, Heiligenblut, June 25th 1870.

local Somerset figure, managing his estate, knowledgeable about County affairs and responsible for forming the County Councils Association. He was also an honorary LLD of the University, and one of its pro-chancellors from the beginning of this office until his death, and Chairman of the Cider Institute a Long Ashton. It was quite in character for him to leave a collection of books to the institution for which he had worked so hard.

Philip John Worsley (1834–1917) came to Bristol in 1860 as assistant manager of the Netham Chemical Works, which he gradually turned into an efficient and profitable company, and he later became Director of the nearby Great Western Cotton Company. What leisure he had he gave to the cause of education, first as chairman of the local school board in St George and then as Vice Chairman of University College, Bristol. Like so many of the others commemorated here he was an active Liberal and a Nonconformist, a member of the Lewins Mead Meeting, and, after he had moved to Clifton, of the Oakfield Road Unitarian Church (though he was suspicious of the word Church). As well as leaving money to the University's Chemical Library, he gave it during his lifetime most of his own books on Chemistry.[16] This Library, which was later named after him, was also fortunate in being given an impressive collection of early chemical and alchemical works by the Leverhulme Professor of Chemistry William Garner (1888–1960) for whom, as for so many of his colleagues at this time, the University and its research (some of it inspired by him) was the entire world. Garner was a member of staff from 1926 to 1954, even during the busy years when he was also superintending explosives research during the Second World War. He never married and lived quietly in Henleaze. Cecil Powell, the Nobel Prize winning Physicist (1903–69) was another dedicated researcher. Appointed as an assistant to A.M. Tyndall in 1928, he was on the staff until 1969, dying only eight days after his retirement. His papers, too, were given to the Library.

Another well-remembered scholar, this time from the English Department, was Susie Tucker, Reader in English Language. This essay is being written at her charred work table salvaged from the bomb blast which destroyed Oatley's Great Hall of the University, all too near her own home in Woodland Road. Next to me is her bookcase, converted from a cottage piano by some thrifty Devon ancestor: Susie Tucker was not interested in possessions, but hung onto what she had. Of more interest to her was her remarkable and entirely practical collection of books, bought to provide material for her many books and articles, and including virtually every early English dictionary. Although she was a very shy person and her subject was not what a majority of students wanted to hear about, all those who came into contact with her found her wise, kindly and surprisingly forthright. For all her time at Somerville, she remained very much in the provincial Methodist mould and never lost her Devon accent. Like Garner she lived her life within the University, and after her retirement went on writing the books and articles that she had started producing rather late in life. She bequeathed her entire library of about 4,000 books to the University, with most of her papers.

Former students seem also to have given books. J. Keith Horsefield had written a BA dissertation on the Bank Charter Act of 1844 and later an MA thesis on *Some*

[16] See Raymond Holland, "More than an Interest in Science: the Worsley Story" *Avon Past*, 16 (1993), 18–28. Worsley's gift of books in acknowledged in a Council Minute of 16.10.1914.

Aspects of Bank of England Policy, eventually gaining a DSc by his published work. Finding that the Library had nothing much on his subjects, he had set about buying the necessary books and pamphlets, which he eventually donated. Eric Wookey (1892–1985) had been a Medical and Dental student at Bristol from 1909–1914, and became, after the War, a well-known London dental surgeon and an early practitioner of hypnosis in the relief of pain. He gradually became interested in psychical research, and a large proportion of the books on this subject in the Library come from his collection. D. J. Cathcart King, the University's first LL.M., similarly supplied most of the Library's books on the English castle, his lifelong passion.

Other donors, however, had no prior connection with the University and merely wanted their collections to remain valued and accessible. A very large and important ornithological collection was bequeathed to the Library by Dr Joseph Wiglesworth MD (1853–1919). He moved to Somerset only in 1914, and the University Library happened to be the nearest one that supported his study. The collection came with its own cases and a handsome endowment, and is now of almost unimaginable value. Another, though much smaller collection (of mathematical tables), was that of Edward Milles Nelson (1851–1938) who was known for his work on microscopy. Nelson had moved to Beckington Castle in 1903 and then to Apsley Road Clifton in 1928. In 1942, Miss M.A.R. Tuker gave 32 works by her famous ancestor Dean Josiah Tucker of Gloucester, and these were added to the Early English Philosophers Collection.

The Diary of Manuscript Accessions, which Cooper started in 1923 and which is still maintained, has as its first entry a gift of the poems and letters of Joseph Cottle, the Bristol author and publisher, It came from Gordon Wordsworth of Ambleside, and was handed over by Professor George Hare Leonard of the History Department. But the Diary goes on to note retrospectively some earlier accessions, the most important of which is a deposit by Heber Mardon of the papers of John Beddoe (1826–1911), the well known medical doctor, founder member of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, and latterly Honorary Professor of Archaeology at University College, Bristol. These are mainly notes and correspondence concerning anthropology, to which Beddoe was a pioneering contributor, but in his early life he had worked in Brunel's revolutionary prefabricated hospital at Renkioi during the Crimean War, and the papers contain plans of this.

The University Library was soon recognised as a repository for records of all kinds. The Paget papers had been boxed up and stored at Cranmore Hall since 1932 as an intended deposit by Sir Richard Paget (1869–1950). He is remembered as the inventor of signing for the deaf and dumb (to use the terminology of the day), but he had also researched widely into language acquisition. In fact, their transfer had to await the return of the archivist, George Maby, from military service in 1945. They comprise family papers of all kinds, as well as local records, many of which had been brought together by Sir Richard Horner Paget (1832–1908), who had been MP in turn for East Somerset, Mid Somerset and Wells, and was a busy figure in the County. There is local material on Doulting and Cranmore, and on Somerset generally, as well as much information about the Pagets and their connections by marriage. The earlier documents, dating from the mid thirteenth century, relate mainly to Wolverhampton and the West Midlands.

The first manorial records, received by the direction of the Master of the Rolls, had already come in 1926—the Dauntsey Court Book 1593–1602. This was, of course, before the setting up of the County record Offices (Somerset 1935, Gloucestershire 1936, Wiltshire 1947), though the City of Bristol already had its own (1924). Many of the purely local records have, of course, since been repatriated, but this was not to be the case with the West Indies records, deposited under an arrangement set up by the British Records Association. This started in 1937 with a deposit of 837 documents from the 17th to the 19th centuries, relating to plantations and individuals on several islands, and it continues to this day. In view of the former significance of its West Indies trade, Bristol does seem the right place for such a collection, and the Library had sometimes bought such manuscripts—for instance one giving an estimate for a cargo for the sailing ship Hungerford to New Calabar for four hundred negroes in 1769. And soon after the BRA scheme was set up an archive of real significance for the study of the West Indies trade was deposited (quite independently) by R.W. Pretor-Pinney of the Grange, Somerton. This was the most important part of the Pinney papers—sixty volumes of letter, ledger and account books and other miscellaneous records. Different Pinney family members have been adding to this collection ever since, and there can be few gatherings of family papers as complete as these over such an extended period, from the reign of Charles II to the present day. The earlier history of the family and its Nevis and trading connections is well known,[17] that of the rescue of the firm's business by John Pretor Pinney (1740–1814) less so. He was the builder of 7 Great George Street in 1790—a rare surviving example of a businessman's dwelling and counting house—where Southey, Wordsworth and Coleridge were once entertained and the lease of the Pinney family house at Racedown to Wordsworth and his sister Dorothy was arranged. The story continues through the Bristol Riots of 1831 when the unfortunate Charles Pinney was Lord Mayor, to several remarkable Pinneys of more recent days. Occasionally the Library has been able to contribute by purchasing items that have turned up at auction, most notably John Pretor Pinney's Nevis journals and ledgers, 1766–1794, which give a detailed account of plantation activities. A recent family visit was marked by the deposit of a recipe book once belonging to Hester Pinney the Spinster (1658–1740) and an inventory taken at Racedown at the time of Wordsworth's stay. Archaeological investigations on the island of Nevis continue.

After the end of the Second World War, during which those members of the Library staff who were not in the armed forces had acted as fire-watchers, things got back to normal and the books which had been stored elsewhere were returned. The Library had been lucky, more so than that of King's College, London, many of whose books had been burnt in the fire which had consumed Oatley's Great Hall (so recently built) to which they had been removed for safety. Amid the hopes and fears of the immediate post-war period another long series of deposits by a well-known local family was started, this time the Symonds family of Clifton Hill House. Dame Katharine Furse (1875–1952), who had reorganised the Voluntary Aid Detachment during the First World War and founded the WRNS, started to deposit her own very interesting

[17] See *Letters of John Pinney 1679–1699*; ed. Geoffrey F. Nuttall, 1939; Richard Pares, *A West-India Fortune*, 1950; Madge Dresser, *Slavery Obscured: the Social History of the Slave Trade in an English Provincial Port*, 2001.

papers and those of three generations of her family. Her niece Dame Janet Vaughan of Somerville College followed her example. Then (much later) the literary manuscripts of John Addington Symonds, lent to the Bristol Central Library in 1915 by Katharine's sister Margaret Symonds (Madge Vaughan) were transferred here. These include drafts of works either wholly written or started in Clifton, including the ambitious *Renaissance in Italy*, before the onset of his tuberculosis necessitated the family's removal to Davos. Photographs of Clifton Hill House in the family album show it after the death of Dr Symonds, when Catherine Symonds had removed the cultural clutter and repapered the walls with Morris papers. The house itself is now a University Hall of Residence. Its present Warden has restored it sympathetically and introduced Symonds memorabilia.

Barely a hundred yards separate Clifton Hill House from Goldney House, now, too, a University Hall of Residence and formerly, as we have seen, the home of Lewis Fry and scene of many eventful meetings in the history of the University Charter campaign. It also formerly housed an archive now in the University Library for safekeeping. To get back to the days in which the Goldney papers were assembled we have to strip away Waterhouse's remodelling, and see the house and its famous garden as these would have appeared a century earlier. The papers contain family correspondence from 1603 to 1899 but largely centre on the business activities and domestic arrangements of Thomas Goldney III (1696–1768), born in the house which his father would eventually buy in 1705. He was educated in Quaker schools and remained a Quaker, though not an active one, but he is remembered as an ironmaster. He worked with the Coalbrookdale Company in which his father had an interest and held shares in mining and metal concerns including the Warmley Brass Company, and he was also a partner in the Goldney, Smith & Co. Bank. His papers reflect his growing interest in the house and in its garden, which he landscaped leaving it in much the form to which it has now been restored, complete with terrace, grotto, canal, orangery, tower and statuary.[18]

The Library holds plans for the remodelling of other local estates and gardens, including 18th century plans for Royal Fort House, with (in printed form) Repton's scheme for reinstating the garden. There is also his Red Book of Abbots Leigh, where Philip John Miles had built Leigh Court in 1814, the best house of its period. In addition to the lovely watercolours in this, there is an exchange of letters with Rev. Norton Nicholls about landscape gardening as a career. But, thanks to W.L. Cooper's collecting urge, there is also pretty much the entire controversy of the day over the Picturesque, in which, Repton, William Mason, Uvedale Price and others exchanged book-length salvos.

Another great Bristol estate came into the possession of the Miles family, through the marriage of Philip William Skinner Miles to Pamela, the daughter of Sir William Napier of King's Weston. The Library does, in fact, also have a large number of manuscripts from this branch of the family, but they have little to do with the great house and its once extensive gardens; instead they are letters and musical scores by many composers, including Philip Napier Miles. These were deposited after his death (and long before the University had a Music Department). Mrs Miles then (briefly) moved

[18] See P.K. Stembridge, *Thomas Goldney's Garden*, 1996.

into the House in the Garden, and King's Weston, as did Leigh Court and many of the great houses founded on mercantile wealth which surround Bristol, went into a prolonged eclipse.

The Landscape Gardening collection now receives a lot of attention, usually in conjunction with the Architecture Books collection, which derives mainly from the Library of the Royal West of England School of Architecture. This was receiving gifts from about 1850, and had become an important resource following a bequest from Heber Mardon in 1924. Two of its treasures are Piranesi's *Vedute di Roma* and a copy-book of the Paty-Wood firm containing drawings of funeral monuments, buildings and fireplaces. The School of Architecture, which had become part of the University only in 1963, was (controversially) closed as part of the 1981 cutbacks in expenditure, but the book collection is still added to by the Bristol School of Architects, partly funded by a bequest from C.D. Ruding Bryan, who had taught art at Clifton College and lived in some style in Beaconsfield Road, Clifton, dying in 1965.[19]

Had W.L. Cooper's successor, Francis L. Kent remained in post longer, he might have tried to solve some of the problems which were becoming evident as the Library increased in size and complexity. One of these was the scattering of the staff around a number of buildings. Another was the lack of open access to an increasing proportion of the book-stock, which led to a lot of fetching and carrying. Another was that books continued to be located by shelf number instead of class mark. In a fast growing library, this meant that every summer there had to be a major re-shelving exercise followed by the alteration of thousands of catalogue cards, not to speak of the contentious decision-making process about which books went where (both Classicists and Philosophers might lay claim to Aristotle). And post-war expansion was now beginning under the Vice-Chancellorship of Sir Philip Morris. New departments were appearing, some of which were clamouring for their own libraries. Kent was acutely aware of such problems[20] but he was unable to solve them and soon was off to become Librarian at UNESCO in Paris, though not before completing the monumental 3rd edition of the *World List of Scientific Periodicals*, which he edited with William A. Smith.[21] James Shum Cox, who had worked in the Library since 1924, became his temporary and then permanent replacement, remaining in post until 1966. He had been to Bristol Grammar School and then Lincoln College, Oxford, and was a distinguished and active Mason. He was deeply interested in tradition and ceremonies, and almost all surviving photographs show him bearing the University mace in processions, a duty which he relished. He was also devoutly reverential towards the memory of W.L. Cooper. Like him he was secretary to the Bristol Record Society, and like him he enjoyed putting on exhibitions for the Art Lectures Committee to which he was also secretary. He was gentlemanly, idiosyncratic and memorable. He was also constitutionally incapable of making changes. In this respect he was very fortunate in that he soon appointed as a library superintendent Joe Lightbown, who (though he, too,

[19] He is remembered in *Bristol's Architecture Book Collection, 1850–2000*. Bristol Society of Architects, [2000].

[20] F.L. Kent, "The Library of the University of Bristol," *Library World*, 52 (1950), 185–7.

[21] *World List of Scientific Periodicals*...3rd ed., by William Allan Smith and Francis Lawrence Kent, assisted by George Burder Stratton. 1952. Kent also contributed to the *Retrospective Index to Theses of Great Britain and Ireland 1716–1950*, 1975.

might be described as a scholar librarian) was from a very different mould. He had had experience of other academic libraries (and much else besides) and was an intensely busy, able, hands-on man, who rapidly reorganised much of the internal working of the Library and took charge of the science libraries. From 1961, when he became Deputy Librarian, until his retirement in 1978, he kept a firm grip on expenditure and he knew to the nearest pound just what could be afforded. Frequent outbursts of irascibility failed to convince—he was, in fact, kindly, practical and approachable.[22] He and Shum Cox were a successful double-act, but nettles would not be grasped until the appointment of Norman Higham as Librarian in 1966 and Sir Alec Merrison as Vice-Chancellor in 1969.

The nineteen fifties and sixties, however, saw some achievements apart from mere continuance and growth. The new library wing designed by Cooper was at last put to the use for which it had been designed, and was by 1962 extended to its present length, with greatly increased stack rooms provided beneath. The Law Library—by now of considerable size and distinction after fairly tentative beginnings in 1923 and the founding of the Law Faculty ten years later—replaced the Medical Library, which was once again on the move, this time to the new Faculty building off St Michael's Hill. Perhaps more significantly, the Engineering Faculty, complete with its Library, had already moved (in 1956) into the nearby Queen's Building, bringing to an end the slightly prickly relationship between its host, the Merchant Venturers Technical College, and the University, which had been willed into existence in 1909, when a difficult compromise had been reached between the rival institutions, the former (in effect) losing its responsibilities for Science and the latter for Engineering, with both teaching staff and libraries being reapportioned.[23] The Chemistry Building, with its new Library, soon followed in the mid 1960s—the University's first experience of the International style of architecture. The need for Departments to have their own libraries was not yet seriously challenged.

Several of the Library's most significant archival collections were deposited in these years. The first of these was in 1950, being given to the University partly out of a sense of local appropriateness, but partly, surely, as a result of a long friendship between the Dowager Lady Noble, of 23 Royal Crescent, Bath, and Alfred Pugsley, the Professor of Civil Engineering. Lady Noble was the granddaughter of Isambard Kingdom Brunel, most of whose private papers were still kept by the family, together with those of his father Sir Marc Isambard Brunel, in the family's opinion the more talented of the two. Eventually, the decision was taken to divide the papers, some remaining in the family, those of Sir Marc Isambard going to the Institution of Civil Engineers in London, and those of I.K. Brunel to the University Library, where they were soon under the scrutiny of his biographer L.T.C. Rolt. Little enough attention seems to have been paid at the time to the arrival of this first archive of national importance—Brunel was not yet a household name, the SS Great Britain had not yet been towed back to Bristol, and docks and railways seemed tiresome facts of life rather than

[22] See the Oration by W. Ashworth at his Honorary M.Litt., awarded 11–13 July 1978 (*Senate Minutes*).

[23] See Andrew Robertson, "Engineering: Story of the Faculty," *Bristol Times and Mirror*, June 10, 1925; C.J. Spittal, "Queen's Building Library, University of Bristol," *Library Association Record*, 61 (1959), 295–8.

objects of general interest—but all that was soon to change. With a lot of help, the University has since been able to buy much of the material remaining in the family, with the result that the Brunel Collection is now one of major importance.[24]

Another archive to make a fairly unobtrusive first appearance was Sir Allen Lane's Collection of Penguin Books, all signed by their authors. The founder of Penguin was by origin a Bristolian, having been born Allen Williams at 40 Cotham Vale in 1902, the family later moving up the road to Broomcroft, now marked with its blue plaque. He had attended Bristol Grammar School and, with his brother Dick, sung in the choir of St Mary Redcliffe. By 1960, Lane was celebrating 25 years as chairman of Penguin Books and fondly imagining that he could distance himself from the firm. He was looking for a place for the collection which embodied his significant contribution to British publishing, and the University Library seemed a suitably serious place. The books were soon housed in what was then the Library Room, their bright spines contrasting with the dark oak of the bookcases. The collection was rounded off with more titles up to Sir Allen's death in 1970, and there it sat until 1975 when Peter Calvocoressi, Penguin's Chief Executive, was in Bristol to open a Penguin Bookshop within George's of Park Street. Joe Lightbown brought him to look at the Collection, and both agreed that it would be good if Penguin went on adding to it. In the general good humour of the occasion, the financial (and spatial) implications of housing a collection growing at the rate of a metre a month were forgotten. Gradually, the Library's role developed into becoming, in effect if not in name, Penguin's archive. With the deposit of editorial files, Sir Allen's own files, the records of the *Lady Chatterley's Lover* Trial, and the papers and collections of important figures, including Eunice Frost, Hans Schmoller and Betty Radice, the Penguin Collection has become huge, and is greatly used by researchers (including Penguin's UK Publishing Director, Tony Lacey, who is a Bristol graduate of 1970).

Just before Shum Cox's retirement in 1966—he died the following year before he could be awarded his Honorary D.Litt.—another archival collection arrived, this time one in which he had expressed a personal interest. It was from the Moravian Church, being the records of the Maudlin Street Congregation, Bristol. The buildings of this once extensive settlement were then awaiting demolition, and the formerly dynamic congregation had departed, but the archive gives a full account of the community's life, especially in its most active period, the second half of the eighteenth century. The Moravians were unusual in the extent and detail of their record keeping, and the spiritual memoirs written by members were an important feature of this effort.[25] The manuscripts were accompanied by books, some of them of great interest, which had survived from the libraries of various communities within the church. These include a rare early edition of the Atlas of Justus Danckerts presented by Dr H.O. Stephens in 1871. Bristol already had a collection of Moravian books, many of them of eighteenth-century date from the library of Benjamin La Trobe (1728–86), the Minister of the great settlement at Fullneck in Yorkshire and then leader of the Moravians in Britain. The Reverend G.W. Macleavy had donated these in 1942.

[24] See my chapter "The Brunel Collection, Bristol University Library," in *Brunel, In Love with the Impossible*; edited by Andrew Kelly & Melanie Kelly, 2006.

[25] See Madge Dresser, "The Book of Your Own Heart…" in *Historic Churches and Church Life in Bristol*; edited by Joseph Bettey, 2001, p.134–147.

Norman Higham's task, when he became Librarian in 1966, was to make the Library catch up with developments that had been taking place elsewhere. Its growing size and the rapidly increasing numbers of staff and students were putting its manual systems and the storage arrangements of the main building under strain. Like his Deputy Librarian but unlike his predecessors, he had experience of other major academic libraries, and he would go on to play a leading role in professional bodies such as the Standing Conference of National University Libraries and the Library Association, and also to write a book on academic librarianship.[26] It was clear, from his first appearance at Arts Board, that he was bringing a new style to the job. Much of his achievement lies beyond the period chosen for this essay, but some things had already been successfully accomplished by 1975, not least of which was the classification of the (by then) vast stock of the Wills Memorial Library. The preparations for the Library's eventual automation were also well advanced, a process which would save the manual systems from collapse and make possible great advances in information retrieval. Less heavily used books and periodicals were now being transferred to what was called the Store, and at the very end of 1975 much of the stock and the central administration were moved to the new Arts and Social Sciences Library in Tyndall Avenue. The whole operation somehow seemed larger; there was better liaison with the teaching departments through the newly appointed subject specialists, and greater emphasis was placed on provision for undergraduates. But it should not be forgotten that Norman Higham also played an important part in adding to existing research collections and setting up new ones. The biggest purchase in the Library's history—that of the Gladstone Library of the National Liberal Club with its historic pamphlet collections and its significant General Election archive—would take place while he was Librarian, and it was largely through his patience and scholarly interest that funding was made available to buy much of the I.K. Brunel material that had remained in the ownership of the family. He also played a major part in securing for the University the library of Victor and Joan Eyles—almost certainly the most complete privately owned collection for the history of Geology. But in1975 all this was still to come.

[26] *The Library in the University: Observations on a Service*, 1980. He went on to gain an OBE for services to the profession, and an Honorary D.Litt. (See Senate Minutes, 11–13 July 1989).

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